NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

National Conference on Government to Be in Buffalo November 20-22

The 1950 National Conference on Government will be held November 20, 21 and 22 in Buffalo, with the Hotel Statler as headquarters.

Civic leaders, business and professional men and women, educators, experts on government, public officials, representatives of local, county and state civic organizations and other interested citizens from all parts of the country will attend, as they have preceding conferences called annually by the National Municipal League since 1894, with the exception of the war years 1942-45.

Rob Roy McLeod, business and civic leader, has been chosen chairman of the local arrangements committee. Sponsoring organizations include the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, the Lackawanna Tax Bureau, the Buffalo and Erie County Planning Association, the Greater Buffalo Advertising Club, Kiwanis and Rotary.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries will have its sessions the evening of November 19 and the morning of November 20, immediately preceding the opening of the Conference. The Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting during the Conference.

Allen Seed Visits 22 States

Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services, has completed a trip to the west coast during which he visited 22 states. He consulted with many executives and officers of local and state civic organizations and worked with business and professional leaders who are cooperating in the program to broaden the League's membership and support.

Mr. Seed will be in New England during the first half of September. Later he will visit cities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Nebraska, Iowa and Minnesota.

Editorial Comment

This Is the Time

AS THEY did during the last two wars, the champions of the *status quo* are likely soon to be trying to sabotage civic progress campaigns with the familiar line: "This isn't the time for change . . . wait until the boys come home from the war."

This is arrant nonsense.

Winning any shooting war or "police action" is only part of the ideological struggle which has the world scared stiff wondering whether civilization hangs in the balance.

It is essential that those who are devoted to the democratic way of life proceed firmly toward demonstrating that our way can be decent, efficient and effective in meeting proper public needs. Our enemies have made too much hay by calling attention to our weaknesses, inconsequential and unintentional as many of them are.

Apathy and complacency notoriously have tricked Americans into paying too little attention during both war and peace to the soundness and efficiency of their essential institutions and processes.

We apparently face a long period of constant threat of all out war. Therefore suggestions that we defer efforts to strengthen our domestic institutions until after the crisis are especially hollow. There is all the greater reason to proceed firmly and aggressively to tighten up our home town democratics and get rid of the excess baggage of waste, inefficiency and cheap politics.

Is it "the American way" to do things by stupid, old-fashioned and ineffective methods? Is it unpatriotic to improve organization and technique?

Putting our houses in order, nationally or locally, will not interfere with any war effort. Indeed, it will make us better able to meet the tests that lie ahead.

A City Statesman

IT IS not the practice of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to run editorials extolling the virtues and accomplishments of an individual. There are times, however, when the soundest of rules should be broken. This is such a time.

Recently, L. P. Cookingham completed ten years as city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, with a record that will not only embellish the history of that city but will serve also as a shining example to members of his profession who find themselves in difficult situations.

To say that the situation was difficult when Perry Cookingham was hired away from the small city of Saginaw, Michigan, is about the same as likening the atomic bomb to a firecracker. For more than a decade Kansas City had been in the clutches of the most thorough-going corrupt political gang of our time. City payrolls were loaded with incompetent political hacks. Political fraud, blackmail, extortion and almost everything else bad were rampant when the voters threw off the Pendergast machine and elected an independent

city council that proved its decency by employing Mr. Cookingham as the city's first real manager.

Most hopeless angle of the situation was the fact that, as the *Kansas City Star* reminded on the occasion of the completion of Mr. Cookingham's first ten years in office, the well intentioned people who made up the winning coalition had no conception of what nonpartisan good government ought to be. They assumed that the members of the old gang would lose their city jobs and that those who had worked for the reform would get them.

"Folksy, good humored Cookingham," the *Star* recalls, "undertook to sell the fundamentals at the same time that he plunged into the big management job. Mayor John B. Gage gave him the most skillful kind of support. By the end of two years some of the formerly skeptical councilmen were themselves becoming outstanding students of government. Nonpartisan methods were showing big results. On another track the whole movement probably would have bogged down in two years."

Cookingham is a public relations wizard in the highest sense of the word. While he cut the tremendous waste and the political crooks off the tax bill, while he substituted order and honesty for chaos and plunder, while he made Kansas City one of the best governed communities in the world, he offended few and won the respect and often the affection of many who would not have believed ten years ago that they could stomach a "do-gooder."

Other cities naturally have tried to hire Cookingham away from Kansas City. Why he has turned down fine offers may puzzle some people. Those who know him best think, however, that it's partly his inability to let go of a job until it has been completed and partly because "Hi, Cookie!", and all that it means, might be missed if he walked down other streets.

An Old Lesson

COMMENTING on the defeat of a proposed new charter for the city of St. Louis, the *St. Louis Star-Times* lays the loss chiefly to the fact that it was not "the best possible charter."

"It was a compromise," says the *Star-Times*, "trimmed in the hope that the ward-heelers would not object if only half their loaf was taken from them. This was an unreasonable hope. They will fight against the loss of even so much as a crumb of patronage and power. The next board of freeholders should take the opposition of the ward-heelers as inevitable and write a charter behind which the independent citizens can enthusiastically rally."

This basic truth has been learned the hard way over and over again. Boldly conceived charters which take high ground win because they are worth fighting for.

Sound Prelude to Statehood

Hawaiian convention drafts an outstanding constitution in a two-pronged offensive for admission to the union.

By HAROLD S. ROBERTS*

NEARLY one hundred years ago President Franklin Pierce authorized negotiations to annex Hawaii to the United States. A proposed treaty was drawn up in 1854 which provided in part:

"[The] Hawaiian Islands shall be incorporated into the American Union *as a state, enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as other states,* and admitted as such, as soon as it can be done in consistency with the principles and requirements of the federal constitution, to all the rights, privileges and immunities of a state as aforesaid on a perfect equality with other states of the union."

It was not until 1900 that, by mutual agreement, the free and independent Republic of Hawaii became an integral part of the United States. A half century later it is still being denied its rights as a state "enjoying the same degree of sovereignty as other states."

During these 50 years it has paid in over a billion dollars to the United States treasury in taxes. In 1949 alone it paid in more than eighty million dollars. Ten states of the union have paid in less than that. Its population and land area is larger than some states. Its public school system has been in effect for about a hundred years and compares favorably with most states. Its population is diverse, but no more so than most cosmopolitan communities. Its industries are modern, its citizens highly literate, its educational and cultural facilities of high reputation. The loyalty of its people is beyond question; its war record unblemished. The fame of its boys in the 100th and 442nd regiments is a matter of pride. The ability for self-government has been demonstrated during the past 50 years.

Hawaii has on sixteen different occasions petitioned Congress to grant statehood. Unlike other territories which have been permitted to come into the union, beginning with the Northwest Territory in 1787, Hawaii has more than met the qualifications for statehood.

On 37 different occasions since 1920 bills have been introduced in successive sessions of Congress to provide statehood. In the past fifteen years there have been nine separate hearings held by congressional committees on the question. Congress has more information and statistical data on Hawaii than on any other territory previously admitted to the union.

The most recent attempt to obtain statehood by means of an enabling statute began by the introduction of H.R. 49 by Delegate Farrington on January 3, 1950. (Hawaii has one delegate to Con-

*Dr. Roberts, dean of the College of Business Administration of the University of Hawaii, was a delegate to the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention, of whose task he writes.

gress, but without vote.) H.R. 49 passed the House on March 7, 1950, by a vote of 262 to 110. On July 12, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, by a vote of nine to one, recommended statehood. Senator Butler of Nebraska cast the only negative vote.

Two-way Action

While H.R. 49 was going through the congressional mill, the territorial legislature passed Act 334. This act was patterned largely after H.R. 49; its purpose was to try another avenue for achieving statehood should the enabling act procedure fail. Some fifteen states have been admitted to the union by the alternative procedure of drafting a state constitution and going to Congress, knocking on the door and asking to be admitted. At the present time Hawaii is launching its campaign for statehood in a two-pronged offensive.

The last report issued by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee fully and effectively sums up its position in the following words:

> As a result, the committee is convinced that:
>
> (1) The admission of Hawaii into the union as a state is in the best interests of the nation and the territory.
>
> (2) The territory meets all of the traditional requirements for statehood and, as a state, would make valuable contributions to the nation and to the world.
>
> (3) In the current clash of political and economic ideologies upon the world stage, the admission of Hawaii as a state would be a practical demonstration in the very area in which communism is making a determined drive to win adherence to its totalitarian principles that the United States is holding aloft for all of the world the banner of political and economic democracy.
>
> Therefore, conscious of their responsibility as members of the Senate of the 81st Congress to the Senate and the nation, the committee recommends that the Senate continue the pattern under which America has grown great and approve this legislation to admit Hawaii to statehood.

On July 22, 61 delegates affixed their signatures to a historic document—the constitution of the state of Hawaii. The ceremony took place in the throne room at historic Iolani Palace, Honolulu. There was a touch of deep solemnity, offset by the bright Hawaiian flowers and the chanting strains of Island music. The ceremony ended with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner.

The 63 delegates, elected by the people at primary and general elections February 11 and March 21, began their official task on April 4. Although the campaign was run on a nonpartisan basis (there were no party designations on the ballot) more than 80 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots.

Of those elected, approximately one-third had never run for an elective office before. For many of the delegates it will be their one and only campaign. These men and women were attracted by the nature of the job to be done. Writing a constitution for a new state comes but once in a lifetime. On the other hand, some of the newcomers may well try their wings in the political arena. No American community can overlook "new blood" for its political melting pot.

The delegates, elected from all parts of the territory, represented a broad cross-section of the community. Among them were two pineapple company presidents, two union representatives, a judge of the circuit court, two former attorney generals, a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii, the superintendent of public instruction, one physician, two dentists, the speaker and vice speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives, four members of the Territorial Senate, a number of school teachers and others. Of the five women who won seats, two are attorneys, two are housewives and one is a member of the legislature.

Racially, the convention contained 27 Caucasians, twenty Japanese-Americans, eleven Hawaiians and five Chinese-Americans, generally representative of the population. Politically there were 29 Republicans, 21 Democrats and thirteen nonpartisans.

Convention Organizes

The delegates adopted rules of procedure, elected officers, set up twenty working committees and began their deliberations. Members indicated their preference for committee assignments on the basis of interest and special technical qualifications. Committees ranged in size from five to fifteen members. They studied all the proposals introduced by delegates; invited experts in the special fields under consideration and held public hearings.

Unlike many political conventions, and for that matter different from the convention which drafted our own federal constitution, all committee meetings were open to the public, press and radio. A weekly report was prepared by the committee on submission and information which was distributed to many community groups, which in turn made copies available to its members. Four radio stations provided time during the week for summaries of the work of the convention. The press provided good coverage.

As each committee completed its deliberations, it submitted a detailed report setting forth the scope and character of the problems before it and the results of its work. At the conclusion was a proposal which contained the specific language recommended for incorporation in the proposed constitution. Copies were duplicated for all the delegates, the press and community groups which desired them. These standing committee reports were then placed on the calendar for full consideration and debate.

To provide maximum flexibility and informality of discussion, most of the debate on reports was held in committee of the whole. Through full and free discussion, completely open to the press and public, by amendments and suggestions from the floor, the committee proposals and recommendations were dissected, paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence, and occasionally word by word.

Unlike the deliberations of many legislative bodies, proposals underwent substantial modification on the floor. Debates were frequently intense, sometimes acrimonious. On

the whole, however, the discussions were on a high plane, directed toward the basic issues under consideration. One rather unusual feature was that at no time was it necessary to place a limitation on debate. The rules made provision for such limitation but they were never put to use.

The committee reports and proposals approved by the committee of the whole were sent to the committee on style for arrangement and form. The style committee was under specific instruction to confine its work to form and style and was prohibited from making any change of a substantive character. It could and did, however, call attention to discrepancies, omissions or conflict, and report to the convention for further instructions or action.

The style committee then resubmitted each of the articles to the convention for approval and adoption, finally arranging all sections into an integrated and cohesive document.

The convention lasted 110 calendar days. Actually there were 78 days devoted to plenary sessions. At other times there were committee meetings, hearings and preparation of committee reports. During the preliminary period of committee work there were, on the average, 20 to 30 meetings each week occupying in excess of 40 hours of work. No verbatim transcript was kept of committee deliberations. Each committee did keep a brief summary in the form of minutes, and these were available to the other delegates. These minutes will also be part of the record to be kept in the archives with other official documents.

The convention kept a complete verbatim transcript by means of electronic tape recordings of all the sessions after April 9. Over 365 reels—about 87 miles—of recording tape were used. It has been estimated that approximately five million words were spoken during the floor debates. Only 14,000, however, found a place in the constitution. Of these, approximately 4,000 are in the schedule which describes the political districts to be used in the initial elections and for subsequent reapportionment every ten years.

A Hawaiian Product

The document signed by the delegates is a product of Hawaii and its people. It reflects the thinking of an essentially conservative community, but one that is responsive to changing times and needs. The constitution has borrowed and adapted provisions from the federal constitution, the Hawaii organic act, the *Model State Constitution* and the constitutions of the other states.

Although it has studied and tapped all available resources, the final product is unlike that of any other state. It has its own flavor and features which find roots in the problems and needs of the community. Typical of these are the provisions dealing with the Hawaiian home lands, the limitations of bonded indebtedness and the use of assessed land valuations to adjust these limits as well as the sections dealing with local government, drafted in the light of a centralized tax structure

and a coordinated and centralized system of public education.

The basic conservatism of the constitution is reflected in the limited number of elective officials. The governor, lieutenant governor and members of the legislature are the only elected officials. Cabinet members and judges of the courts are appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Members of the Board of Education are to be appointed by the governor from panels nominated by the counties. There is no provision for the initiative, referendum and recall—so popular during the first two decades of the century.

Current Thinking Reflected

The constitution does contain many progressive features which reflect the forward-looking character of the community. It provides for reduction in the voting age from 21 to 20. Only one other state, Georgia, has a voting age of less than 21. A provision recognizing the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining, as a constitutional guarantee, has been included. Only three other state constitutions, Missouri, New Jersey and New York, provide such guarantees.

Many features of the document reflect the best current thinking in government. For example, executive departments are to be coordinated in no more than twenty major departments, to permit the governor to keep a personal check on the functioning of the executive branch. There are provisions to eliminate the pocket veto. The salaries of the governor, the judges and members of the legislature have been increased to attract the best qualified men to office. Salaries compare favorably with the ten highest states of the union.

Provision is made for post-audits of state expenditures, as well as a requirement that the legislature pass the general appropriations bill before passing other finance bills. This may prevent the last minute rush, so typical of many legislative sessions, which makes it difficult to give careful scrutiny to final drafts of bills and leads to political log-rolling and deals. In many other respects recognition is given to practices which are conducive to good government.[1]

Should the Congress pass H.R. 49 in its present form, the constitution could be submitted to the people for ratification at the election in November. H.R. 49 provides that an election be held within 60 to 120 days after passage of the enabling act. If the constitution is ratified by the people, it will be transmitted to the president of the United States and to Congress for approval. If Congress approves the ratified constitution, the people will then proceed to elect their state officers and two U. S. senators and members to the House of Representatives. Should the voters or Congress fail to ratify the constitution, the delegates to the 1950 convention must reconvene to draft another constitution that will meet the objections of Congress or of the people.

Should Congress fail to pass H.R. 49, the constitution will be sub-

[1]See also page 405, this issue.

mitted to the next session of the territorial legislature. While the legislature may not change it, it may draft an alternative. The people will then have the choice of voting for the constitution drafted by their delegates, the one drafted by the legislature, if any, or neither. If the people reject the constitution, the convention has to reconvene to draft a new document. If the people approve the document, it will be submitted to Congress with a request for direct admission into the union.

In the meantime, Hawaii knocks at the door for statehood. It alone of the territories that have shown their ability for democratic self-government, the ability to finance their own operations and to support our free institutions, has been denied equality of rights with the other states. Unlike Puerto Rico, which elects its own governor and pays no federal taxes to the United States, Hawaii cannot elect its own governor, has no voting representation in Congress, and is denied the right to vote for the president of the United States. If taxation without representation was tyranny in the middle of the 18th century, it is no less so in the middle of the 20th.

Hawaii, the meeting place of the cultures of the east and west, a dynamic outpost of democracy in the Pacific, waits impatiently for recognition of more than a half century of democratic progress. It is ready and willing to assume its responsibility in the new Pacific era. Admission of Hawaii into the union now would, in the words of the Senate Committee: "Give notice to all the world, and particularly to the peoples of the Pacific at this critical juncture of international affairs, that it is the policy of the United States to provide self-government among all the peoples without political, economic, racial or other distinction."

Both major parties have, in the past ten years, included statehood for Hawaii in their platforms. It is high time to transform these promises into political realities.

Phoenix Makes New Start

Correcting weak charter paves way for a rebirth of the manager plan; new council, executive get quick results.

By PAUL KELSO*

PHOENIX, ARIZONA, one of the pioneer council-manager cities of the United States, is at last realizing the potentialities of the manager plan for effective municipal government. Manager government was instituted in Phoenix in 1914 on the basis of a home rule charter adopted the previous year. Until January 1950, however, it functioned in from bad to indifferent fashion because of charter defects, citizen lethargy and probably a general lack of understanding of city manager principles and the promise of honest, efficient government embodied in them.

As Phoenix grew to a city of more than 105,000, with an expanding program of municipal services, the city government became more and more unable to meet its responsibilities. On January 3 of this year, however, the old order came to an end with the seating of a new council pledged to the council-manager idea and appointment of a city manager qualified by training and experience for the position. The first six months of the new administration have been marked by substantial improvements in administrative organization and procedures and in the quality of public services.

The sequence of events immediately responsible for the improvement of Phoenix city government started in October 1947, when the then mayor appointed a Charter Revision Committee of representative citizens to propose beneficial changes in the city charter. The committee framed a charter amendment designed to center administrative authority in the city manager and to protect him against unwarranted interference by the council. The voters gave their approval to the amendment at a special election in November 1948.[1] The committee disbanded after the election.

Sponsors of the amendment soon learned what they should have known from the first, that the adoption of the amendment in itself did not guarantee better municipal government. Forces which had opposed the charter amendment remained in control of the council. The council reappointed the incumbent city manager in the face of evidence indicating his general unfitness for the job and in disregard of the amendment section stipulating training and experience as the sole bases for selection.

It soon became apparent that neither the council nor manager had

*Dr. Kelso is associate professor in the University of Arizona's Department of History and Political Science and has taught at Ohio State University and the University of California at Los Angeles. He was formerly reporter, feature writer and art editor on the Muncie, Indiana, *Star*.

[1]See "Phoenix Charter Rises Anew," by Paul Kelso, the REVIEW, April 1949, page 176.

any intention of effecting improvements. City administration in general was inefficient and wasteful. The growth of commercialized vice pointed to either laxity in law enforcement or corruption. There was some evidence of "bossism" in city government, at least to the extent of the domination of a majority of council members by one man, a private citizen.

Citizen Group Organizes

Confronted with a situation in which persuasion and criticism alike had proved ineffectual, individuals favoring more competent city government decided that the most promising course of action lay in the formation of a citizens' organization which would nominate candidates for municipal office pledged to the support of the charter amendment. The city election of November 8, 1949, the first to be held since adoption of the amendment, would afford the opportunity to elect a new mayor and an entirely new council.

On July 5 a small group of citizens, with former members of the Charter Revision Committee as its nucleus, organized the Charter Government Committee. It was later expanded to more than a hundred members. The committee backed the incumbent mayor and an incumbent councilman, both attorneys, for reelection. Its five other councilmanic candidates were three businessmen, an insurance executive and a woman active in women's and civic affairs. A representative of organized labor had agreed to run on the committee ticket but withdrew before formal nomination, presumably because of the hostility of some sections of organized labor to the committee.

Candidates for the council and position of mayor who favored the *status quo* called themselves the Civic Achievement Group. They included three members of the old council seeking re-election. There were also a number of independent candidates.

Numerous civic groups, as well as the city's two daily newspapers, the *Arizona Republic* and the *Phoenix Gazette*, supported Charter Government Committee candidates. The Phoenix Central Labor Council and the Building Trades Council adopted a motion that no committee candidate would be endorsed. Their endorsees, however, included three councilmanic candidates on the Civic Achievement Group ticket.

Charter Government Committee candidates won an overwhelming victory at the polls in November. The fact that more than 22,000 of almost 42,000 registered voters went to the polls attests to widespread popular interest in the election. The number of ballots cast was almost double that for any previous municipal election.

Several days following the municipal election, the Charter Government Committee was dissolved. It had pledged this action shortly after its formation in order to allay the suspicions and win the support of persons who might fear that it would remain on the scene after the election "to run things." Some persons in Phoenix, however, regard the dissolution of the committee as an error and feel that the lack of organized

political support for improved manager government may imperil the gains of the present administration at the next election.

After the election the mayor- and councilmen-elect, in keeping with their campaign promise, began a systematic search for a city manager qualified to provide Phoenix with superior municipal administration. They considered a total of 40 candidates, six of whom came to Phoenix for interviews. Their choice was Ray W. Wilson, who since 1940 had been administrative assistant to L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City and, prior to this appointment, civic secretary of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce.

Problems Resolved

On taking office January 3 Mr. Wilson was confronted by two major problems: an anticipated deficit of $400,000 for the 1949-1950 fiscal year, already half over, and the long-run improvement of municipal management and services. The council lived up to its advance reputation as one of the best in the city's history by actively supporting the manager's administrative program. As a result of council-manager teamwork and a vigorous program of economies and revenue collections instituted by the latter, Phoenix ended the fiscal year on June 30 with a small surplus instead of the predicted deficit; and most of the basic changes essential to the modernization of administrative organization and procedures had been achieved or authorized.

The unusual phenomenon, for Phoenix, of a city administration not only pledged to efficient, economical government but also taking rapid strides toward its objectives has had a salutary effect upon the morale of department and division heads and most rank-and-file employees, a change which is reflected in the achievements of the first six months.

In directing the work of municipal administration, the city manager makes good use of accepted managerial techniques, some of which are new to the Phoenix scene. He usually discusses more serious administrative and procedural problems with the council before taking corrective measures. More important administrative changes are customarily preceded by extensive studies conducted by committees or qualified individuals.

Immediately upon his appointment the manager began publication of a weekly *City Manager's News Bulletin* to inform councilmen, other city officials and personnel, as well as the local press, radio and civic groups, of salient features of municipal administration. In the first issue of the *News Bulletin* the manager printed in full the "City Manager's Code of Ethics" and declared his adherence, without reservation, to the code. Administrative regulations and department head letters are published to inform personnel of administrative procedures and of their relationships with management and the public.

Three administrative interneships authorized by the council have been awarded to students working for advanced degrees in municipal man-

agement. The internes, each on a one-year appointment, have been put to work on studies designed to aid in the improvement of administrative organization and procedures.

Reorganization Accomplished

The number of separate departments reporting to the city manager was reduced from 27 to twelve during the first six months, in recognition of the principle that an administrator's capacity for effective supervision and planning is limited by time available and by the number and type of activities he directs. Administrative reorganization also eliminated some overlapping and duplication of functions. The first major change came in January with the consolidation of twelve departments into a single department of public works; the second in April with the setting up of a department of finance comprised of five formerly separate agencies.

Kenneth K. King, a man with extensive public works and engineering experience, was brought from his job as general manager of a firm of general contractors in Kansas City to become director of the department of public works. He had also served for three years as director of the Kansas City water department and for six as director of the department of public works. City Auditor John L. Williams, Jr., a CPA who had been discharged from the same position by the previous city manager and reappointed by Mr. Wilson, is acting head of the department of finance.

In February assessment and collection of real and personal property taxes were transferred to the office of county assessor, as permitted by state law. The change, which will save Phoenix an estimated $55,000 yearly, was proposed by City Assessor B. W. Baer, another official fired by the former manager and reappointed by the present one.

The police department was reorganized following an administrative survey by a representative of the Northwestern University Traffic Institute. The city health department is in process of reorganization. Its services are being expanded and improved as the result of a survey made by the Arizona State Department of Health at the request of the city manager. Dr. James A. Dolce, deputy commissioner of the joint city-county health department for Buffalo and Erie County, New York, is head of the department. The American Public Health Association in a letter to the Phoenix mayor commended the city for the selection. The city planning department has regained its status as a separate staff agency and is directed by John W. Beatty, planning director of Rockford and Winnebago County, Illinois.

To provide the city manager and the department of finance with the tools essential to their work of directing and coordinating municipal fiscal activities, the city has installed modern accounting and budgetary procedures which conform to standards recommended by the National Committee on Municipal Accounting and its parent organization, the Municipal Finance Officers Association. The budget for the 1950-1951

fiscal year is a remarkable document from at least two standpoints: it is the first modern budget in the history of Phoenix city government and its total estimated expenditures of $9,228,043 are 0.9 per cent lower than budgeted expenditures for the preceding fiscal year. On only two other occasions in the last twenty years have budget estimates been lower than those of the preceding year.

More Service for Less Money

The cut in proposed expenditures was made despite an increase in estimated capital outlays from $346,000 for 1949-1950 to approximately $883,000 for the current fiscal year. The larger sum for capital expenditures, necessitated by the condition of municipal equipment, was partly offset by a reduction of $420,000 in debt service costs. The *Arizona Republic,* commenting editorially upon the 1950-1951 budget, stated that "to have accomplished improved and increased services in every department of municipal affairs without increasing the cost to the taxpayer is a modern municipal miracle."

Development of more efficient methods of expenditure control has also led to an overhauling of purchasing methods and to a review of contracts made by the preceding administration. A standardization committee has been working since April to reduce the number and types of supplies and equipment used by the city, thus permitting the savings inherent in quantity purchasing, and to establish standard specifications for various items.

The city manager has insisted upon strict observance of the charter section requiring open, competitive bidding for purchases of more than $500 and upon informal bids for those involving smaller sums. The preceding administration was frequently criticized for circumventing the requirement of competitive bidding and for having "favored vendor" lists.

Departmental requisitions for supplies and equipment are expected to be based upon careful advance planning. Confirmation orders, under which goods were purchased first and the orders later approved, have been discontinued. During the last six months of its term of office the old administration diverted about $150,000 in capital improvement bond revenues to current operating expenses. Mr. Wilson has stopped this misuse of bond money.

One of the first official acts of the new council was the cancellation of fire insurance policies for $640,000 which the outgoing administration had renewed several days earlier. A committee of representative insurance brokers appointed by Mr. Wilson is currently surveying the insurance needs of the city. City insurance coverage is now handled through the committee, a practice designed to eliminate the spoils element in the awarding of contracts.

The city council in February refused to continue payments and the manager in March halted work on a contract for the construction of a $703,000 fire alarm system on the grounds that the costs were exces-

sive, the system larger than needed and the contract illegal. The company has initiated action against the city in a federal district court. The council also rejected original bids for a fire department radio and called for combined bids for new FM stations for the police, fire and public works departments. The contract awarded provided for substantial savings in installation costs as well as standard, interchangeable equipment for the three stations.

Laws Enforced

Since January the police department, in contrast to the former situation, has been vigorously enforcing the laws falling within its jurisdiction, with special attention to prostitution, gambling and traffic violations. In October 1949, the American Social Hygiene Association reported the presence of at least fifteen houses of prostitution in Phoenix but after a survey completed last February it reported that "Phoenix, Arizona, is a changed city. It is no longer a vice center." A modern program of handling traffic law violations, including "non-fixable" traffic tickets instituted by the police department and the magistrate's court, has led to the response of 95 per cent of the persons receiving traffic citations, in contrast to from 40 to 45 per cent formerly.

With an eye to future city growth and the need for facilitating the annexation of adjacent communities, the city council has authorized the city to pay for future extensions of water lines for domestic service and fire protection into new areas. The voters at a special election in June approved a bond issue of $1,750,000 to put the program into effect. The former practice of paying for water line extensions through special assessments levied against real property understandably enough contributed to any reluctance on the part of suburban dwellers to enter the city.

Projects of note planned for the 1950-1951 fiscal year include a long overdue recodification of city ordinances, preparation of a new administrative section of the municipal code and a classification and pay survey as a forerunner of needed changes in the civil service system.

It is still too early to forecast with any accuracy the future of council-manager government in Phoenix. The only vocal opposition at the present time is furnished by two small weekly newspapers, one published by a defeated candidate for mayor in the last city election and the other by a printing concern which had received a big share of the city's printing business under the old administration. So far as could be learned from a limited number of sources, the improvements described above, and others, are popular with a majority of Phoenicians. The administration is supported actively by the city's two daily newspapers which, acting upon the premise that good government is good news, have given a generous portion of their news and editorial columns to developments.

Mr. Wilson is proving himself skilled in the business of public re-

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The Politicians Lose Again

Independent Iowa City citizens win hot campaign over typical obstacles by careful planning and hard work.

By THELMA BROWN LEWIS*

ON APRIL 17 Iowa City, Iowa, came through a campaign, in which all its civic battles of the past half century were revived openly or in whispers, to adopt council-manager government by a decisive margin of 847 in a total vote of 5,417. This was one of the heaviest ballots ever recorded in a local municipal election.

Reasons for the successful outcome of the campaign are the long period of preparation, sponsorship of the movement by a representative citizens' group, thorough organization on a precinct basis, the sincerity of purpose of the advocates of the new system, cooperation of press and radio, hard work by many individuals particularly the women, and the adoption of council-manager government within the year by two of Iowa's largest cities, Des Moines and Council Bluffs. Helpful negative elements were the existence of dissatisfaction with the present city administration, prevention of a party battle over the issue and some of the tactics of the opposition.

Iowa City, which reached a population of 27,000 in the 1950 census, is the seat of the State University of Iowa, with an on-campus registration of about 9,000 in the current school year. It is also the seat of Johnson County, a moderately prosperous agricultural area as Iowa counties go. It is a buying center for the outlying region and its businesses are chiefly retail stores, although it has also a few wholesale outfits and some processing plants and other small industries. About 70 per cent of all households are represented in the administrative, teaching and maintenance staffs or in the student body of the university, which has been called the city's largest "industry."

There is talk about the "town and gown" split, and unquestionably some elements resent any participation of university personnel in city affairs. Wider resentment comes from the fact that the state has acquired much valuable property near the center of the city which is, by law, tax free. This has been blamed, rightly or wrongly, for many of the admitted deficiences of city government. "The university is trying to run the town," was one of the first tags hung upon the council-manager movement by opponents.

Harking back to a number of explosive, but unsuccessful, efforts to acquire municipal ownership of water and gas and light facilities, no sooner was the council-manager

*Mrs. Don Lewis, a member of the board of the League of Women Voters of Iowa City and chairman of its water committee, was co-chairman of the league's organization for council-manager plan and vice chairman of the local Council-Manager Association during the recent campaign. She is now on the board of the reorganized association and chairman of its committee for education and information.

movement under way than the charge was made, on the one hand, that it was sponsored by the utility companies and, on the other, that it was a move for municipal ownership.

A prior defeat of council-manager government in 1921 was dragged out of the grave and made an argument against it in 1950. The 1921 charges of "one-man rule," "costly government," "it takes six years to change it" and "university attempt to control" were dusted off and used again.

Not even the wet versus dry controversy, presumably settled in 1919 and 1933, was permitted to rest. Power granted a city manager by the Iowa code to issue and revoke licenses and permits was used to argue that all beer taverns in the city might be closed down.

Party Politics

The most serious threat in the campaign was the attempt to make it a party battle. Iowa City and Johnson County are traditional Democratic strongholds in a state which is preponderantly Republican. It is generally believed in the city that a large turnout at the polls bespeaks a Democratic majority in the local vote. This has been true for many years—with the peculiar exception of 1948—in presidential elections. Local elections fought on issues are the best evidence that it is not true in purely local elections.

Actually, the Republicans and Democrats have popped in and out of control of the city administration at a dizzy rate for the past twenty years. The present mayor and four of the seven councilmen are Democrats, some of them in their second terms of office. The mayor and the city attorney, who is also city chairman of the Democratic party, and a small segment of the local party organization led the opposition to council-manager government.

First steps in the manager movement in Iowa City were taken by the League of Women Voters in the fall of 1947, with the study of forms of municipal government. In the summer of 1948 a league-conducted workshop on the subject was attended by a number of men, including the present mayor, city attorney and some members of the city council. As an outgrowth of this workshop, a small group of citizens met weekly that fall and winter to discuss council-manager government. With one exception the Democrats in the city council were either opposed or lukewarm to the idea. Yet, from the beginning, leaders of the group favoring it were members of the Democratic party.

At the time of the city election in March 1949 the Republicans made study of council-manager government a plank of their platform. In a contest that brought out a larger than usual vote, the Democrats reelected their candidate for mayor and four of the seven-man council. Other reasons than the inclusion of council-manager government in its platform have been advanced for the Republican defeat. However, its inclusion and the defeat served notice where the opposition would persist.

In the fall of 1949 the League of Women Voters approached the

small citizens' group which had studied the question the year before with the proposal that action be undertaken. Out of this group—minus the dissenting Democrats—the Council-Manager Association emerged, developing as a widely representative group of citizens, loosely organized to promote adoption of the plan.

By Vote of the People

Chapter 419 of the Iowa code provides the legal basis for council-manager government by popular election. Chapter 418 permits adoption of a city manager plan by ordinance. Before the campaign opened agreement had been reached in all the various study groups that adoption of the plan by referendum was preferable because of the specific delegation of powers to the manager in chapter 419.

Two questions threshed out by the Council-Manager Association early in the campaign were the timing of the referendum and the number of councilmen elected under the plan.

Timing was scheduled in such a way that adoption of the plan would not mean immediate election of a new council. Considerations in this decision were the need for education of the public and the belief that timing which would unseat the incumbent administration might be construed as an attack upon the Democratic party.

The question of the number of councilmen to be elected arose from the provision of the Iowa code that under the plan there should be three councilmen in cities under 20,000 and five in cities over that population. An exception, written in, it is said, to satisfy a particular situation in Waterloo, Iowa, is this: "In any city having a population of 20,000 or more, and less than 75,000, of which the territory embraced within the boundaries of such city lies in two townships which are divided by a watercourse, four councilmen shall be elected, two of whom shall be residents of and elected from that part of the city lying within each of such townships."

By the 1940 census the population of Iowa City had been 17,138. While it was agreed that it was probably well over 20,000 in 1950, the part of the population which was student and student families was not readily ascertainable. A timely federal ruling, however, to the effect that students would be counted among the population of the community in which they attended school, insured that Iowa City would go well over 20,000 and would have five rather than three councilmen.

Only briefly at the outset of the campaign was the possibility of four councilmen considered. East Lucas and West Lucas townships, it was known, surround Iowa City; and they are divided by the Iowa River which runs through the city. Legal advice was sought as to whether the exception would apply to Iowa City. The legal decision was that it did not because Iowa City, which had been set up as a municipality while Iowa was still a territory, had been regarded as a separate township throughout its history. It had never been considered a part of either East Lucas or West Lucas for pur-

poses of election, taxation or the platting of real estate. Perhaps it was because this advice was not widely publicized that the question arose later.

Fall and winter were given over to the preparation of materials, notably a pamphlet, *It's Time To Change,* to education and to organizing for the circulation of petitions requesting the referendum. Four meetings of the association were held, to which the public was invited. The executive committee of the association and the League of Women Voters organization for the council-manager plan met, separately, once a week throughout the campaign.

Launching Petitions

In the week of January 17, 1950, more than 250 workers were brought together in a series of training meetings and provided with educational materials for their own use, petitions and the pamphlet to distribute throughout the city. Programs included discussion of council-manager government, an opportunity to ask questions and specific instruction on the presentation of petitions, the proper signatures and how to have petitions notarized. A list of registered voters in the city, which has permanent registration, was given each canvasser for a particular precinct or for the city in the case of those covering the downtown area. This was considered necessary because the code provides that petition signers shall be qualified electors and registration is the most certain evidence of that.

The circulation of petitions was launched at a well attended public meeting on January 24 at which the speakers were A. A. Rhomberg, city manager of Dubuque, Iowa, and a local minister, Rev. P. H. Pollock, who had lived under council-manager government in Bozeman, Montana.

Press and radio, both of city and university, cooperated fully in reporting campaign activities. The League of Women Voters presented a total of 21 educational radio programs. The Council-Manager Association sponsored a poster contest and maintained a speakers' bureau which supplied a speaker on the issue for any organization requesting one. From January 25 until election day, April 17, a campaign office was open downtown. Yet the campaign was a quiet one until the final week.

Possibly the best publicity was the petition canvass itself, which proceeded through some of the bitterest weather of the winter but was very successful. To meet the requirements of the Iowa code for signatures amounting to 25 per cent of the total vote cast for mayor in the last preceding election, 1,300 signatures were needed. After elimination of names the legality of which might be questioned, the association filed with the mayor, on March 2, petitions bearing 3,413 signatures, almost three times the number needed.

When the mayor set the date of the election as April 17, the association, through the citizens who had circulated petitions but drawing in many more, began at once to or-

ganize the campaign for getting out the vote.

Again the organization was by precincts. Activities included telephone calls to all petition signers a week before election to announce a public meeting at which Forrest W. Seymour, editor of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune,* was a principal speaker, arranging for absentee voting, providing transportation and baby-sitters on election day, making personal contacts with many persons who had expressed interest at the time of the petition canvass but who had not signed a petition, poll checking, and reminding petition signers to go to the polls. The League of Women Voters intensified its usual voters' service, urging and helping qualified citizens to register and telephoning all townspeople on election day to encourage voting.

Status Quo Defended

The opposition up to this time had been carried chiefly by the mayor and city attorney. Both had made a number of speeches on the themes that: the present government was all right, cost of government was low in Iowa City, few Iowa cities had council-manager government, the city manager would have too much power, nonpartisan elections would result in lack of citizen interest and a council elected at large would not be as responsive to the voters as one elected by wards. It was widely whispered, also, that city employees would lose their jobs and that civil service regulations would be abandoned.

A number of times the city attorney suggested to the council that it could save the cost of a special election by installing a city manager by ordinance. This matter was at last referred to the ordinance committee just before the petitions were filed. The ordinance committee, perhaps influenced by the number of signatures, reported back that it favored settling the matter by popular vote. Thereupon the mayor set the date.

Five days before the election—on the date of the final public meeting sponsored by the association—a meeting of the Democratic city central committee was called, of which members who were supporting council-manager government were not officially notified. Several of these attended and sought to block the proposal to enlist the funds and the name of the Democratic party in fighting the council-manager movement. They were voted down. However, the name of the party was not used in the subsequent flood of anti-manager propaganda, broadcast through every medium. A further deterrent to fuller involvement of the party was an advertisement by "lifelong members of the Democratic party" censuring the tactics of the central committee. Possibility of a full-scale party battle was finally averted when the city chairman of the Republican party announced it would take no stand on the issue of manager government.

Also in the last week, the opposition advertised under the caption "They did not tell you this!" that Iowa City did lie in East Lucas and West Lucas townships and that the law might be so construed as to

give Iowa City four councilmen under the council-manager plan, two of them from east of the river with 80 per cent of the population and two from west of the river, with 20 per cent. This point was pressed throughout the rest of the campaign. It may have lost some votes to council-manager government, but it also won some from long-time residents who resented the implication that Iowa City was a part of the two outlying townships.

In the last few days the opposition blasted its way through the whole gamut of stock and purely local attacks upon council-manager government. Some of the tactics were petty. The administration did not intervene to secure a permit—for which application was made a day late—for Boy Scouts to pass out handbills reading, "Be a good citizen —vote today." Yet members of the council had a hand in scattering throughout two strongly Democratic wards leaflets which warned, "No more Third Ward if city manager passes." There is more than a suspicion that authorization was neither requested nor given for this operation. In addition, the mayor, though perhaps with some provocation on technical grounds, refused the association permission for a band and parade until the morning of election day, although application was made as required.

This type of opposition probably served a purpose the reverse of that intended, for it intensified the feeling in some quarters that the present administration was not the best possible. It was probably also responsible for the growing conviction that an active permanent citizens' committee would be necessary to give the new form of government a chance against the opposition of those who had personal interests to serve in opposing it.

Such a committee has been organized. It is supported by the many citizens who in the past have seen victory degenerate into defeat in Iowa City and who do not intend to see it happen again.

PHOENIX MAKES NEW START

(Continued from page 388)

lations. He has set aside a press room in the city hall and has adopted the policy of "an open door for press and radio in the manager's office and in each department." Newspaper reporters may attend the informal meetings of the council and manager which precede formal council sessions and the department head meetings held by the manager. Procedures devised for the prompt and systematic handling of complaints and the manager's insistence upon courteous public service have unquestionably had a favorable influence upon public opinion. In his numerous speeches before service clubs and other civic groups Mr. Wilson has probably contributed to support for efficient, economical government.

As a result of a substantial record of achievements, a good press and the administration's skill in public relations, there is the possibility that both the principle and practice of good government may be firmly established in Phoenix by the next municipal election.

One Way to Get Out the Vote

Australia's compulsory voting law, used 25 years, produces 96 per cent of electorate in 1949 parliamentary contests.

By HENRY J. ABRAHAM*

HAS the compulsory voting law of Australia been effective? It must be conceded that it has, if one bases one's observations on the medium of statistics. In the first election under obligatory voting, in November 1925, the percentage of voters to enrolled electors was 91.3 (males 91.62, females 90.99). The proportion was highest in Barton, New South Wales, where it amounted to 95.37 per cent, and lowest in Kennedy, Queensland, where it was 83.4 per cent. At earlier elections, not under compulsory voting, the percentage had varied between 53.04 and 77.69.

There has actually been a steady increase in participation since the first elections under the law, with abstentions dropping below the 4 per cent mark, approximating that of Belgium, where compulsory voting has been practiced successfully since the 1890s. This truly splendid attendance has continued to the present. In the last general elections, held throughout Australia on December 10, 1949, 96 per cent of those eligible voted. Total enrollment was 4,924,874; votes cast numbered 4,714,363.

Compulsory voting in Australia, in contrast to its presence in Europe and Latin America, is a rather recent institution. It was not approved until 1924 when the commonwealth, following the example of Queensland —one of the states that had initiated the system at the 1915 local elections, adopted obligatory voting for elections to the Senate and the House of Representatives. Most of the Australian states which had originally viewed Queensland's pioneering with some misgiving followed suit between 1925 and 1944, when South Australia at last succumbed, thus rendering compulsory voting applicable to local as well as national contests.

For some time influential Australian newspapers had flayed what they deemed "criminally low" participation in elections. Legislative remedies were demanded even by such conservative weeklies as Melbourne's *Australasian*. In successive issues it condemned the "extremely unsatisfactory" participation in previously held local and national elections, which had produced a "mere" 55-70 per cent turnout of the electorate—one that would be looked upon as quite acceptable in the United States. The journal called for drastic action to raise the percentage of popular participation and declared itself in favor of parliamentary steps to compel such an increase. When the law was subsequently passed the *Australasian* as well as the majority of the commonwealth press either welcomed it or had little comment.

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It would be erroneous to conclude, however, that the enactment caused extraordinary excitement either within or without Parliament. According to the Australian News and Information Bureau "reference . . . does not indicate that much interest was taken in the act." A. N. Smith, reporting on the reaction of Australia's Parliament, stated that when the bill was up for discussion "only a few members spoke against it, but the general feeling was that compulsory voting would save candidates the trouble and expense of bringing electors to the polling booth."

Law Rushed Through

The *New York Times,* exhausted from its recent editorial onslaught against adoption by Massachusetts of a constitutional amendment making compulsory voting possible, plus an extended crusade against the general post-election (1920) and pre-election (1924) sentiment for compulsion in the United States, refrained from editorial comment. The paper simply reported passage of the bill under a Melbourne date line of July 25, 1924. The *London Times* made a few caustic references to the act, sadly noting, however, that it was a matter for Australia alone to decide.

The measure was pushed through Parliament with remarkable speed. Astonishing in itself is the fact that it was permitted to be introduced as a "private bill." Its author was E. A. Mann, member of the House for Perth, Western Australia; in the Senate the project was sponsored by H. J. M. Payne of Tasmania. Limited but lively debate ensued.

The two managers of the bill deplored the "apathy" and the "indolence" of the citizens, stressing the lack of "their duty of interest in electoral matters." Messrs. Payne and Mann placed particular emphasis upon the contention that Parliament would be far more democratically constituted were it elected by not merely half the electorate.

Senator Payne's opening arguments in the upper chamber were challenged by Mr. Gardiner of New South Wales who said, "As a rule I view with grave suspicion anything in a democracy that savors of . . . compulsion." He expressed fear that "the last remaining vestige of freedom is trembling in the balance." His colleague, Lynch of Western Australia, referred to the bill as the "conscription of the citizens," and remarked, "What is this world coming to? I stand for freedom! Honorable senators opposite promulgate the theory and seek to establish freedom by strangling it."

The eloquent opposition did not, however, suffice to block the measure. The question was resolved in the affirmative, the bill read a second time and reported from committee without amendment or debate on the same day. Six days later, on July 23, it passed third reading and was sent to the House of Representatives.

In the lower chamber Mr. Mann moved for second reading the following day. Even less debate than in the Senate took place. Mr. Mann was heavily supported by a number

of colleagues who contended that real democracy does not exist when "the right to rule," i.e., the right to vote, is not exercised by a majority. The people should be jealous of their principles, concluded Mr. Mann, "but the exercise of the suffrage is a privilege, and we have a right to ask of them that they should regard those privileges not only as something which they ought to prize but as involving a duty which they should perform and the performance of which the state has a right to demand of them."

Two House Members Oppose

Opposition was confined to two members, Jackson of Bass, who especially objected to the "hurried passing of this important legislation," and Duncan-Hughes of Boothby, who admitted the apathy of the electors but branded the proposed bill as "an unjustifiable interference with the liberty of the subject." He closed his plea for defeat of the measure with the admonition that "the factor that will undoubtedly cause the electors to realize more fully not only their privileges but their duties is the gradual spread of education. In education lies our hope. The youth of this nation ought certainly to be made to understand more of their rights as well as more of their responsibilities and duties to the nation."[1]

Nevertheless, the question was resolved in the affirmative within 45 minutes, the bill was read a second time, passed through its remaining stages without any amendments and without a division and returned to the Senate on the same day. Thus enacted it became part of the Commonwealth Electoral Act of 1918-1934 upon the assent of the governor-general on August 6, 1924.

Under the provisions of the compulsory voting statute it is the duty of every Australian elector—every natural born and every naturalized citizen of 21 or over and eighteen in the case of service personnel—to record his vote at each national election. At the close of election day the divisional returning officer prepares a list of the names of those electors enrolled for his particular division who failed to vote. He then dispatches a form to each who must, under the terms of the law, state in writing their reasons for not having voted. They must return the form within 21 days. Upon receipt of the executed form the divisional returning officer decides whether or not the reason contained therein is "a valid and sufficient one" to excuse the elector's failure to vote.

Every elector who (a) fails to vote at an election without a "valid and sufficient reason," (b) upon receipt of notice fails to fill out and return the form, (c) gives a false reason for not having voted, shall be found guilty of an offense and pay the penalty of not less than ten shillings ($1.13) and not more than two pounds ($4.50). To insure complete fairness, proceedings for an offense against the law are not to be instituted except by the chief

[1]All quotations from parliamentary debates have their source in *Parliamentary Debates,* Commonwealth of Australia, Volume 107, June 1-August 1, 1924, pages 1892-2452.

electoral officer or an officer duly authorized in writing by him.

There exist, of course, *bona fide* excuses for non-voting, as adjudged by the divisional returning officer. Some are specifically enumerated in the act: death, absence from the commonwealth on polling day, certification by the divisional returning officer as having been ineligible to vote at the election. (An American writer, on an extended visit in Australia, reported that while he was living in the commonwealth he, too, was sent a form, asking him why he had not voted in the 1937 general election!)

Absentee Voting Provided

To assure maximum participation, an elaborate system of absentee voting has been devised. Any elector, male or female, who has reason to believe that illness or infirmity may stand in the way of his voting, has the right to apply for a "postal voting certificate" which, duly witnessed and attested, may be mailed to the divisional returning officer.

Much use has been made of absentee voting. During the recent war a supreme effort was made to provide the troops with ballots. Australians felt keenly about the voice of their service personnel. Special ballot papers were prepared and distributed by plane, jeep, barge, boat, train and truck to fighting fronts and battle stations on the Australian mainland and nearby islands. Sample ballots were flown to other countries, wherever Australians were fighting or stationed, and printed in numbers there. It was a fine example of the vitality of democracy.

Important safeguards exist in order to maintain the traditional secrecy of the ballot in Australia. With the exception of the blind no voter, no matter how old or infirm, may receive assistance in the polling booth. Campaigning within 50 yards of the polling station is barred. Political parties are allowed to print "how to vote cards" as a guide, but no party name may appear on the ballot. Voting takes place on officially prepared, carefully guarded, ballot papers.

Invalid votes for the House in 1949 comprised but 1.9 per cent of the total ballots, while those for the Senate were 10.8 per cent, resulting in 6 1/3 per cent of such "invalid" ballots as a whole, which is somewhat higher than the customary average of 4½ per cent. Prior to the introduction of compulsory voting in Australia, invalid ballots ranged from 2.66 to 5.66 per cent, averaging 3.6 per cent. This indicates the presence of a definite percentage of deliberately spoiled or blank ballots, a phenomenon also to be noted in such compulsory voting lands as Belgium and Switzerland, for example. In its one-time flirtation with obligatory voting the Republic of Italy experienced a similar result: 4½ per cent of the voters cast blank or defaced ballots in the 1946 *question royale* referendum.

The difference between the percentage of "informal" votes in the case of the two chambers was due, at least in part, to a special requirement of the electoral law. Mem-

bers of the House were elected from single member districts by a preferential ballot; the Senate was chosen by the Hare system of proportional representation, with seven[2] elected from each state at large. In both cases Arabic numerals are used to express voters' choices. The voter *must* mark preferences for *all* candidates, else his vote is invalid. Thus uncertainty was created in the mind of the voter by the multitude of senatorial candidates listed while candidates for the House, elected from smaller single-member districts and fewer in number, were more easily recognized by the average voter.

Voting is thus not merely a matter of switching parties by observing the party symbols—as has been indicated these are not used—but of knowing the names of the candidates and marking with a figure "1" the name of the man the voter favors most, the figure 2 for his next choice, and so on until all candidates have been voted upon.

C. H. Grattan commented on this feature with this story. "Since Australians, like most democrats, tend to vote AGAINST [*sic*] men and proposals, it is not surprising that frequently voters casting their ballots act like the blind man who asked the officer assisting him if a certain politician was standing for office. On being told that he was, the blind voter said, 'Put the bugger last.' Often the results seem to show more care has been taken to get 'the bugger' last than the best man first."[3]

Of 287,023 electors who failed to vote in the 1946 general election, valid excuses were given by 143,000. Yet in line with the leniency that, paradoxically, appears to be characteristic of the enforcement of most compulsory voting laws, only 774 people were actually fined. However, further proceedings were initiated against potential electors of approximately the same number for their failure to reply to the questionnaire sent out by the divisional returning officer.

You Must Vote

It may perhaps be fitting to terminate this brief examination of the practice of obligatory voting in the continent "down under" with a little anecdote, as reported from Brisbane, Australia, by the *Chicago Daily News* of February 26, 1948.

"The candidates at Queensland's last state election weren't so hot, Leonard Machin decided, so he didn't vote for any of them. Hauled before a summons court and reminded that voting is compulsory under the laws, Machin protested:

" 'Good gracious, do I have to vote for fellows who aren't fit to represent me?'

" 'You have to vote,' replied the judge, fining Machin $1.50 and costs."

[2]At 1949 election only.

[3]C. H. Grattan, *Introducing Australia*. New York, John Day Company, 1942, page 154, by permission of the John Day Company.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Orleans Granted Home Rule Rights

Legislature Gives Approval, Amendment Goes to Voters

THE Louisiana legislature, at its 1950 session, approved a proposed amendment to the state constitution giving the city of New Orleans a home rule charter. The amendment will be submitted to the voters of the state at the November election. It establishes the present charter of the city as a home rule charter and prohibits any subsequent legislature from amending it, either directly or indirectly, except by a vote of the qualified electors of the city. The act further provides various methods by which the city council or a substantial number of qualified voters of New Orleans may propose amendments or substitute charters in the future. In each case, such proposed amendments or substitute charters must be approved by a vote of the people in order to become effective.

The significance of the New Orleans home rule act lies in the fact that the legislature has reversed its previous position in reference to New Orleans, which in 1948 had the entire structure of its city government changed, revenues reduced and municipal appropriations increased in punitive statutes adopted by the legislature and signed by the governor.[1]

Under the new home rule amendment, the legislature is prohibited from increasing appropriations for municipal or parish offices and boards unless approved by the city government.

The change of heart on the part of the state administration is credited to the fact that Russell Long, son of the late Huey P. Long and nephew of Governor Earl Long, made a poor showing in New Orleans when running to fill a vacancy for U. S. senator in the fall of 1948. This in turn was attributed largely to the punitive anti-home rule acts described above.

In the Democratic primary for mayor of New Orleans in January 1950, Mayor deLesseps Morrison, making home rule for New Orleans a principal issue, was overwhelmingly reelected.

Now that Russell Long has been elected senator for a full term, this time carrying New Orleans, the state administration is again whittling away the reestablished home rule structure, recently removing from the city's jurisdiction the city jail and the custodianship of voting machines.

Montclair, New Jersey, Starts Government Study

Montclair is the first New Jersey city to initiate procedures to revise its form of government under the recently adopted state law incorporating recommendations of the so-called Faulkner Commission.[1] A charter study association has been formed to study local government in that city. The association will work for the election of a five-man charter commission to study the city's government—the question has been placed on the November ballot by action of the town commission. If supported by the voters, this study commission will conduct hearings and investigate the present commission form of government in Montclair, and also the council-manager and mayor-

[1]See "The Rape of New Orleans," by Lennox L. and Helen R. Moak, the REVIEW, September 1948, page 412.

[1]See the REVIEW, June 1950, page 293.

and-council forms. Upon completion of its studies, the commission will recommend the type of government best suited for the community. Voters will then reject or affirm the commission's choice in another referendum.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Further adoptions of the council-manager plan during the first half of 1950, as reported by the International City Managers' Association, include **National City, California,** (1940 population 10,344) and **Baker, Oregon,** (9,342). **Rockville, Maryland,** (2,047), which previously adopted the plan, has been added to the ICMA's official list.

Grenada, Mississippi, (5,831), on August 5 adopted the council-manager plan, 334 to 318. A previous effort in May 1949 had been unsuccessful. The plan calls for election of a council of seven members, which will appoint a manager. It has been vigorously campaigned for by the *Grenada County Weekly,* W. W. Whitaker, editor.

The town of **Wilton, Maine,** (3,228) has voted 84 to 80 at a special town meeting to adopt the council-manager plan, effective in the fiscal year 1951.

The **Rutland, Vermont,** *Herald* points out that the voters of that city have still not been allowed to vote on the question of adopting the manager plan. A bill to permit Rutland to adopt the plan passed the State Senate but died in the House Committee on Municipal Corporations on which Rutland's mayor, who fought the plan, was the city's representative.

A bill authorizing the voters of the town of **Wilmington, Massachusetts,** to adopt a selectmen-town manager form of government was signed by Governor Paul A. Dever in July. It will be voted on in Wilmington at the state election in November and, if rejected, will be submitted to the second annual town meeting thereafter.

In **Derby, Connecticut,** the Board of Trade has been considering how to secure an amendment to the city's charter to establish the council-manager plan.

The city council of **Niagara Falls, New York,** which has had the manager plan since 1916, has amended the city charter to permit the employment of a manager or other city official who is a non-resident, provided he makes his home in the city within three months after appointment.

A group of citizens in **Gate City, Virginia,** is interested in the manager plan.

At a public hearing on June 21, called by the **Roanoke, Virginia,** Charter Study Commission, no one favored abandonment of the council-manager plan. Enlargement of the council, possibly to seven members, was favored by a majority of those present.

The **Orangeburg, South Carolina,** Chamber of Commerce is much interested in the manager plan.

The city council of **Delaware, Ohio,** has provided for a referendum on November 7 on the question of electing a commission to draft a council-manager charter.

Petitions have been circulated in **Cheboygan, Michigan,** for resubmission of the council-manager charter which was defeated on June 26 by a vote of 828 to 733.

In **Garden City, Michigan,** the Chamber of Commerce has circulated petitions calling for a vote on adoption of the manager plan.

A council-manager charter was defeated in **Holland, Michigan,** by a vote of 1,464 to 1,264 on June 26.

The recent adoption of a strong-mayor charter in **Livonia, Michigan,** despite pleas to defeat it and draft a council-manager charter, has been attributed to the desire of the citizens of that former township to organize as a city in time for it to share in heavy pari-mutuel betting receipts from the

local race track—which the township was not permitted to do. The charter commission is reported to have decided on the strong-mayor plan over the manager plan as a means of continuing the power of incumbent officials. The election was a few days before the track opened.

At a special election July 25, the voters of **Fergus Falls, Minnesota,** defeated a comprehensive charter revision, providing for the manager plan, by a vote of 1,435 to 582. The election was held earlier than anticipated.

The legislature of **Mississippi** has amended the 1948 council-manager enabling act so as to give the manager power to appoint and remove all department heads, to prepare and recommend an annual budget, to make recommendations to the council and to report to the council at least once a year in writing.

A vote is to be held in **Omaha, Nebraska,** in November on adoption of the manager plan. A City Manager Plan Committee is active.

The **Lincoln, Nebraska,** League of Women Voters is giving favorable consideration to the council-manager plan.

In **Chanute, Kansas,** the City Planning Association has circulated petitions calling for a special election on the question of adopting the statutory council-manager plan.

The **Keokuk, Iowa,** Chamber of Commerce, is showing special interest in the manager plan.

The mayor and council of **Fairview, Oklahoma,** have endorsed the council-manager plan and a popular election on its adoption is expected to be authorized. The Chamber of Commerce is conducting an educational campaign.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **El Paso, Texas,** is deeply interested in the manager plan.

Assuming the success of Mayor Jack White of **San Antonio, Texas,** and of other council-manager supporters at the election for the city commission next May, it is expected that another charter election will be held in July 1951.

Proposed amendments to the charter of **Del Rio, Texas,** providing the council-manager plan, were defeated by the voters on June 28.

The citizens of **Pocatello, Idaho,** will vote on the question of adoption of the council-manager plan at a special election on September 19.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Boise, Idaho,** is interested in the plan.

The Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico indicates much interest in a manager plan for **Santa Fe.**

In **Portland, Oregon,** a 21-man citizens' committee on municipal reorganization, appointed by Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee in August 1949, reported in June in favor of a manager plan with a council of nine members, including one as mayor, having four-year staggered terms, with elections every two years. On July 11 the city commission refused, three to two, to provide for a popular referendum on the plan next November, thus throwing the burden on the citizens' group to circulate petitions for an election.

In **Bend, Oregon,** the voters have repealed a charter provision that required the question of retaining the city manager to be placed on the ballot in November 1950.

The city of **Arcadia, California,** has retained Louis H. Burke as special counsel for drafting a council-manager charter. The **San Bruno** city council in the same state has appointed a committee to study the manager plan.

Many Tennessee Cities Get Permanent Registration

Although a bill to provide universal permanent registration in Tennessee failed of passage by the 1949 legislature, the Browning bill for permanent

registration in municipalities and counties above certain population levels was successful. It provides a system of permanent registration in all counties of 50,000 and over and in all municipalities and civil districts of 2,500 and over. The counties immediately covered, together with all the cities and towns therein, are reported to number seven. Some 50 cities and towns in other counties also come under the legislation, and it is estimated that the 1950 census will bring a total of more than 120 cities and towns under the permanent registration law.

St. Louis Strong Mayor Charter Defeated

On August 1, primary election day in St. Louis, Missouri, the proposed charter drafted by a special board of freeholders along strong mayor lines[1] was defeated by a vote of 117,037 against the charter and 65,797 for it. The total charter vote of 182,834 was 49.3 per cent of the registration. The charter was vigorously opposed by both the Democratic and the Republican machines.[2]

Fear of higher taxes was played upon by the political enemies of the charter, although, as stated in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, of the three tax provisions attacked, "one was of doubtful constitutionality, one was completely misunderstood and one was a legal nullity."

Particularly heavy anti-charter voting appeared in predominantly Negro wards where, in addition to machine influence generally, the absence of a civil rights charter plank was emphasized.

It is generally assumed that the charter cannot be resubmitted and that the whole procedure heretofore gone through in the authorization and election of a board of freeholders and the drafting of a charter will be necessary in order to obtain a new and improved document.

[1]See the REVIEW, June 1950, page 295.
[2]See also page 376, this issue.

Schenectady Cuts City Car Accidents

Reestablishment of the Accident Review Board by City Manager Christian X. Kouray, of Schenectady, New York, has already resulted in a substantial reduction in accidents on the part of city-owned automobiles. This board consists of the assistant city manager, traffic engineer and corporation counsel.

The first step was establishment of an accident safety program, which was begun with the cooperation of a local insurance agency. A series of safety films were shown to all city drivers. The program was to be based upon an incentive award to those drivers with perfect records.

The second, and more drastic, step consisted of an examination and a record of "accident-prone" drivers. A check on the records of certain drivers was made by the board. The board recommended to the city manager that one man be prohibited from driving for a year, a second man be prohibited from driving at all, a third man be prohibited from driving pending a physical examination, and two other men be issued warnings concerning the frequency of minor accidents.

It was also decided to give all drivers employed by Schenectady physical examinations, with emphasis on eyesight, hearing and hearts. Another phase of the safety program is a periodical inspection of all automotive equipment and a follow-up to insure a proper maintenance of automobiles and trucks.

A novel feature of this program consists of acceptance by the Accident Review Board of the decisions of the insurance claim agent, because of his thorough study of individual accidents.

The city's accident record for the

first six months of this year decreased by eleven accidents as compared with the first six months of 1949.

Washington Cities Adopt Intergovernmental Policy

A comprehensive statement concerning city-state-federal governmental relations was adopted by the Association of Washington Cities at its annual convention in Walla Walla on June 17. It includes the following major points:

The state should enlarge local taxing authority, make certain that taxes which lend themselves only to collection on a statewide basis are distributed on the fairest and most equitable basis possible, and not reduce allocations of state funds to cities;

The state government should impose no service burdens on municipalities without providing the necessary revenue to perform such services;

Cities should have the right to determine for themselves what services they require without asking permission of the state government for each new undertaking;

The state constitution should be amended to delegate to municipalities broader grants of power to handle their own affairs;

State government should refrain from "going over the heads" of municipal governments in establishing hours of work, salary scales, civil service systems and other working conditions for individual groups of municipal employees;

State budget laws should be amended to provide greater flexibility in municipal operation;

A state revolving fund of $30,000,000 should be created by setting aside idle moneys from certain trust or other funds from which municipalities could borrow for sewage treatment plants and other essential works;

An orderly method should be provided for areas annexed to cities and towns to withdraw from the various special taxing districts of which they were a part before annexation;

Cities should be authorized to assist in the solution of motor vehicle parking problems;

State urban redevelopment enabling legislation should be adopted to permit the rebuilding of "blighted" areas in Washington municipalities;

Cooperation among municipalities by contract or voluntary agreements should be fostered;

Municipalities should be given authority by the state legislature to combine and jointly acquire by purchase or condemnation any privately owned electrical power generating and distribution systems within and without their boundaries and by agreement among themselves to provide for joint management, control and operation of such plants and systems;

Congress should enact legislation at once to provide for payments in lieu of taxes on federally owned property;

A larger share of federal highway moneys should be made available for expenditure in urban areas where traffic congestion is greatest;

The United States should provide funds for the water pollution control program or withdraw from the field.

More Cities Establish Interneships

Phoenix, Arizona, has been added to the list of cities with interneship programs. Three paid twelve-month interneships in municipal management have been established under the city manager. The positions hold the title of administrative research interne, and the monthly salary range is from $200 to $240 with beginning salary dependent on training and experience.

The Civil Service Assembly notes an increasing number being accepted each year by cities with interne programs. Kansas City (Missouri), Detroit, Cin-

cinnati and Denver have had or have continuing programs of utilizing young college graduates as internes. The programs of several universities offering graduate training in public administration include interneships. Among these are Wayne University, University of Denver, University of Southern California, University of Minnesota and the University of Kansas. In 1949 the cities of El Dorado, Winfield, Hutchinson and Wichita, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, accepted internes from the University of Kansas. All are being retained during 1950 in regular jobs. Internes from the same university have been placed this year in Salina, Pittsburg, Russell and Emporia, Kansas; University City and Mexico, Missouri; and in Phoenix, Arizona.

The federal government has had an interne program in operation for several years; New York State is beginning its fourth year with such a program and Westchester County, New York, likewise has one.

Oregon Committee Studies State Administration

The Oregon Legislative Interim Committee on State Government Administration has made preliminary studies concerning state governmental reorganization and has decided, because of limited funds, to concentrate on over-all organization and central management activities rather than attempt a truly comprehensive analysis of organization and administration at this time. It will deal with specific governmental operating functions as time permits.

It plans to prepare reports by November or December on general administrative controls, finance, personnel, top organization structure, revenue, labor, business regulation and welfare functions.

State Constitution for Hawaii Completed

On July 22 the newly drafted constitution for the Hawaiian Islands, which seek to become the state of Hawaii, was signed by the constitutional convention delegates in Honolulu. The document, after approval by the U. S. Congress and the Hawaiian electorate and passage by the U. S. Senate of the Hawaii statehood bill, would become effective upon the admission of Hawaii into the union.[1]

The prospective constitution, comprised of fifteen articles and about 10,000 words, follows traditional lines more than had seemed likely at first. It is reported that the convention started out to centralize powers in the chief executive but outlined a government more of checks and balances.

Instead of following the lead of Nebraska with a unicameral legislature the convention prescribed a legislature of two houses—a Senate of 25 members to be elected for four-year terms from six districts, with from two to five senators from each specific district; and a House of Representatives consisting initially of 51 members elected for two-year terms from eighteen representative districts, with from one to six representatives from each.

The document provides that on or before June 1, 1959, and in each tenth year thereafter, the governor shall reapportion the members of the House of Representatives among four designated basic areas, on the basis of the number of registered voters; within such areas the number of representatives from each representative district shall be determined on the basis of registered voters—the basic area to be redistricted if an existing district comes to have less than half the full number of registered voters required to entitle it to one representative.

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[1]See also page 377, this issue.

The Supreme Court is given jurisdiction to issue a mandamus, on application of any registered voter within 30 days after the reapportionment date, to compel the governor to make the reapportionment.

The executive power is vested in the governor who, with a lieutenant governor, is to be elected by the people for a four-year term, by plurality election. The executive department is to be organized into not more than twenty regular departments. The governor is not given the power to appoint department heads without interference; Senate confirmation is provided for.

The judiciary power is placed in a Supreme Court of five members with seven-year terms and Circuit Courts having judges with six-year terms; the governor appoints the Supreme and Circuit Court judges, subject to Senate confirmation. The legislature may establish inferior courts.

A state auditor is to be appointed by majority vote of each house of the legislature, in joint session, for a term of eight years and thereafter until a successor is appointed.

The governor appoints members of the State Board of Education, with Senate confirmation, from panels submitted by local school advisory councils, to be established by law.

Various progressive provisions for public health and welfare, slum clearance and rehabilitation, conservation and development of resources and preservation of natural beauty, and plans of historic or cultural interest are included.

Provision is made for home rule for local units.

The right to organize for collective bargaining is protected for persons in private employment. Those in public employment shall have the right to organize and to present and make known their grievances and proposals to the state or other public employer. The employment of persons in civil service "shall be governed by the merit principle."

Amendments to the constitution may be made by convention or by the legislature, such amendments to be submitted to popular vote. Such amendments must receive an affirmative vote of at least 35 per cent of those voting at a general election or, if submitted at a special election, at least 35 per cent of the total number of registered voters. The legislature, at least every ten years, must submit to the electorate the question of calling a constitutional convention; otherwise the lieutenant-governor "shall certify the question, to be voted on at the first general election following the expiration of such period."

New Hampshire Adopts Personnel System

The New Hampshire legislature at its special session this year adopted an "Act to Establish a Unified Personnel System for the State." It was approved on May 18 as Chapter 27-B of the Revised Laws.

The act creates within the Department of Administration and Control[1] a division of personnel under the direction of a personnel commission for the recruitment, appointment, compensation, promotion, transfer, lay-off, removal, discipline, etc., of state employees. The personnel commission consists of three members, appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the council for terms of two, three and four years initially and thereafter for three-year terms. Only two members may be of the same political party; no member may also be a member of a party committee nor an employee of any other state depart-

[1]See "New Hampshire Secures Partial Reorganization," the REVIEW, July 1950, page 344.

ment. One shall be a member of the bar. The governor designates the chairman.

Governor Sherman Adams has appointed the personnel commission; it is headed by Herbert Kimball.

The commission appoints a director of personnel, experienced in the field of personnel administration, who may be removed by the governor and council only for cause. He is the executive officer of the commission and supervises all its activities. Among many duties he is to develop competitive examinations for classified positions for which funds are provided in whole or in part by the federal government, as required by the latter; such examinations "may" be developed for any other classifications. No state employee at the effective date of the act shall be required to take a written examination to remain in his position.

The commission is required to establish a classification plan for all positions in the classified service subject to the approval of the governor and council; the first such plan "shall include the principles recommended by the governor's advisory committee on reclassification"; such classification of positions and salaries is required to be effective July 1, 1950. The salary schedule thus called for has been developed and approved by the governor and council.

The act contains a section (No. 16) entitled "Political Activities Prohibited"; but the text does not seem quite so broad. The section prohibits appointment, discharge or discrimination in the classified service because of political opinions (other than that advocating violent or unconstitutional overthrow of government), religious beliefs or affiliations, or race. Use of official authority or influence to secure jobs or employment advantages for political purposes is forbidden, and no classified employee shall hold a remunerative elective public office or have other employment that conflicts with his state employment.

Louisiana Move for Merit System Fails

Although a compromise civil service bill in the form of a constitutional amendment, worked out by the Louisiana State Civil Service League and the state administration, appeared virtually certain to be passed by the legislature and approved by the people in the November election, the House of Representatives killed it by a roll-call vote of 47 to 46 on June 26. A group of House members is reported to have signed a "round robin" pledge of all-out opposition to the merit system. One representative said that "civil service ruined several foreign countries. Let us not let it ruin America." The bill called for a five-member commission appointed by the governor, four of the appointments to be with the advice and consent of the Board of Governors of the Civil Service League.

Four Pollution Control Agencies Confer

An unusual meeting of four state and interstate pollution abatement agencies is reported by the Council of State Governments. It occurred in New York City on June 1 under sponsorship of the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation and was participated in by representatives of the New England Water Pollution Control Compact Commission, Tri-State Sanitation Compact Commission, New York State Pollution Control Board and the Special New York Legislative Committee on Pollution Abatement.

The interstate bodies reviewed the status of pollution control activities in their respective jurisdictions and the New York groups discussed means of intensifying abatement in that state.

Virginia Counties Get Third Option

Legislature Provides 'Board' Form of County Government

THE 1950 session of the Virginia legislature has made a third form of government optional for counties on vote of the people. It is known as the "county board" form and is much more limited in scope than the two provided in 1932—the county manager and the county executive plans. The new form is that under which Elizabeth City County has been operating since 1943 by authorization of a special act.

One major change from the usual pattern in Virginia which is offered in the new optional form is appointment of school boards by the county boards of supervisors rather than by electoral trustees who are named by the judges. No elective officers are eliminated as they are under the two earlier plans. In fact, a supervisor elected from the county at large is added to the existing supervisors who are elected by districts. The voters continue to elect the treasurer, justices of peace, commissioner of revenue, clerk, commonwealth attorney and sheriff.

Under the new form, the board of supervisors appoints the county executive who has very limited powers. He is responsible for purchasing, budget preparation, maintenance of public buildings, zoning administration, tax mapping and appointment of the public works superintendent. The supervisors retain the power to appoint the surveyor, game warden, firemen, health officer, farm and home demonstration agent and boards of planning, plumbing, equalization, finance, welfare, recreation and mosquito control.

Three counties have adopted forms of government provided earlier. Henrico and Warwick Counties have adopted the manager plan and Albemarle County the executive plan.

Santa Clara Manager Charter Again on Ballot

Because of legal difficulties involving its home rule charter, adopted in 1948 but declared invalid by a lower court late last year,[1] Santa Clara County, California, in an attempt to avoid technical flaws, has started all over again to secure manager government.

Although the case against the charter is still pending in the courts, the fifteen freeholders elected two years ago and others circulated a petition calling for a new election of a board of freeholders. With but one exception the original fifteen freeholders became candidates for re-election. Opponents of the charter entered their slate of fifteen candidates in the contest also.

At the election called on June 6, the 30 candidates for freeholders were listed on the ballot in alphabetical order, without designation of any sort, thus making it extremely difficult for the voters to distinguish manager proponents from opponents. As a result of a vigorous and careful educational campaign, however, the proponents won; their lowest candidate secured 3,000 more votes than those received by the highest candidate of the opponents.

It is anticipated that the newly elected freeholders will draft a county manager charter similar to that approved by the voters in 1948. The

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 187; January 1950, page 42.

people of the county again will vote on the charter November 7, 1950.

Home Rule Questions in the Courts

The Montgomery County, Maryland, council, which assumed office last year as a result of adoption of a home rule charter, recently lost its case in the Maryland Court of Appeals in which it asserted its right to establish nonpartisan primaries and elections for selecting members of the council. A local act of the council establishing the system was in direct conflict with a state law applicable throughout the state but passed with the intent of forestalling nonpartisan elections in Montgomery County. The highest court of Maryland ruled that the state law prevailed and that it was not unconstitutional under the home rule amendment.

The Municipal League of Seattle entered a friendly suit to force the county commissioners to call for district election of the freeholders board to draft the King County home rule charter rather than its election at large. The action of the county board was sustained, however, and five freeholders will be chosen from each of three districts but by a county-wide vote.

County Manager Plan Developments

At a recent county budget hearing for Hudson County (Bayonne), New Jersey, the manager plan was proposed as a solution to problems arising in the administration of the county's affairs.

A Good Government League has been formed in Prince George's County, Maryland, to work for improvement of the county government and especially for adoption of the manager plan. Approximately 400 persons attended the first meeting which was held on the University of Maryland campus.

Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia, in a recent advisory vote, indicated that it favored the manager plan by a margin of more than three to one. The vote marks approval of the plan that has been in effect for more than two years.

Now that Columbia, South Carolina, has adopted the manager plan, Richland County, in which it is located, has become interested in adopting a similar form of government.

The manager plan in California counties has been made the subject of a study by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California.[1] The study describes the Sacramento and San Mateo County plans that were established by charter, the Los Angeles and San Diego County plans established by ordinance and the proposed Santa Clara charter which is discussed elsewhere in this section.

Citizens of Pinellas County (St. Petersburg), Florida, are interested in securing the county manager plan.

West Virginia Studies County Finance

The West Virginia Commission on Interstate Cooperation has issued a 24-page booklet entitled *An Introductory Study of County Finance in West Virginia*, in which it explores the financing of roads, schools and public assistance and analyzes county budgeting, revenues, expenditures and bonded indebtedness. In its exploration of the subject, the following questionnaire was sent to the clerks of all county courts in the state:

"1. Do you feel that, under existing law, the counties are able to fulfill

[1]Margaret Rohrer, *County Manager Government in California*, thirteen pages, (mimeographed), April 1950, distributed by County Supervisors Association of California, Sacramento 14, California.

their financial obligations?

"2. Do you feel that the counties are now performing duties, either wholly or in part, that should be taken over by the state?

"3. Is there any specific law or laws which unduly restrict the counties in fulfilling their financial obligations?

"4. Has your county financial situation changed materially for the fiscal year 1948-1949 as over against 1947-1948?

"5. Is your county financial picture for 1949-1950 materially different from that for 1948-1949?

"6. Have you any general suggestions to offer that would lead to improvements in the financial condition of the counties?"

The inconclusive nature of the replies is indicated by the following tabulation covering the first five questions:

Question No.	Yes	No
1	24	10
2	13	17
3	10	20
4	11	19
5	14	16

San Angelo, Texas, Considers City-County Consolidation

The city commission of San Angelo, Texas, is studying the possibility of consolidation with Tom Green County in which it is located.

Interneship Program Entering Second Year

Westchester County, New York, has been so well pleased with its interneship program initiated a year ago that it recently started its second class. Seven young men have been selected of whom six are trained in engineering and one in family and child welfare. After an indoctrination program, the internes will be encouraged to specialize in one of the departments and take the necessary civil service examinations at the end of the training program.

County Managers in Ireland May Have Powers Reduced

Because of the belief of some members that the county management act passed by the Irish Parliament in 1940 gave the county managers too much power, they have introduced a bill shifting some powers back to the elected county councils.

Under the bill, the term "county officer" would be substituted for "county manager." The county officer would continue to have jurisdiction over personnel matters, health and the selection of tenants in public housing. The council, on the other hand, would have jurisdiction over all contracts, construction and maintenance of public housing, hospitals, water and sewerage systems and public roads, and over the public assistance program, all of which at present are under the jurisdiction of the county manager.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Presidential Election Change Defeated

Lodge Proposal Would Have Provided New Vote Count

THE House of Representatives on July 17 defeated the Lodge-Gossett resolution for amendment of the United States constitution with respect to presidential elections. The vote was 210 against the resolution to 134 in favor, whereas a two-thirds favorable vote was necessary to propose the amendment. The resolution passed the Senate last February, 64 to 27.[1]

The proposal would have abolished the electoral college and the system under which all a state's electoral votes go to the candidate receiving the largest vote in that particular state. It would have substituted a scheme whereby each state's electoral votes would be divided proportionately according to the popular vote. By providing for election by a joint session of Congress in the event no candidate obtains 40 per cent of the popular vote, the proposal would have superseded the present provision that if no candidate obtains a majority of electoral votes, the election is to be thrown into the House of Representatives with each state having one vote.

The resolution was brought before the House under suspension of the rules—a procedure which limited debate and barred amendments—because the failure of the Rules Committee to accord clearance to the measure prevented its being brought up in any other manner.

[1]See the REVIEW, March 1950, page 149.

In an editorial entitled "A Chronic Peril Endures," the *New York Herald Tribune* made the following comment:

"The proposed amendment would have ended the all-or-nothing contortion by which a minority vote in each state is discarded, with the result that the count of electors is far from accurate reflection of popular desire. The peril is, of course, in the election of a runner-up president, something that has happened repeatedly. More than that, the Lodge-Gossett amendment would have halted the danger of a presidential election being thrown into the House, with all the political horse-trading insured by such a complication. The electoral college makes such a possibility very real, as will be remembered from 1948 when a swing of 20,000 votes in three big states would have given absolute control of power to the Dixiecrats in a House election.

"But the House . . . was emphatically against change. Between continuing to endure a long-existing danger and venturing into untried ground, it chose to leave matters as they are. This may have been the voice of conservatism, but there were also some extremely practical fears. Many Republicans thought they had far more to lose than to gain; the northern Democrats felt that the southern Democrats would move into new power in their party. No one can say with absolute certainty how the two parties or their factions might be affected by allowing a Republican vote in Texas or a Democratic vote in Maine to count with the same force. The decision was not even left to the state legislatures.

"For the moment, at least, our presidential elections will remain subject to the vagaries of the electoral college. Correction will be achieved sooner or

later, perhaps not until after a great deal more educational effort. We can only hope that reform comes before the present system of election by accident demonstrates its full potential of mischief."

The *Standard-Times* of New Bedford, Massachusetts, opposed the proposal, pointing out that if the Lodge-Gossett plan had been in effect and if the popular vote had been just as it was in the 1896 presidential election, Bryan would have been elected instead of McKinley, in spite of the latter's majority of the popular vote. McKinley, with a popular vote of 7,035,638, would have received 220 electoral votes instead of the 221 he obtained under the present system, while Bryan, with a popular vote of 6,533,080, would have received 227 electoral votes instead of 176.

The explanation lies in the fact that although the Lodge-Gossett plan comes closer in principle to election by popular vote than does the present plan, and would give the wrong result much less often, it does not change the distribution of electoral votes which gives the states with small populations a relative advantage, and it takes no account of the wide variation in the percentage of the population which goes to the polls in the various states —reflecting in some cases formal or informal restriction of the franchise. In the case of the 1896 election the various defects of the present system in part cancelled each other out, whereas the elimination of some of these defects and not the others by the Lodge-Gossett plan would have allowed a result contradictory to the popular majority.

There is no assurance, however, that the distortions of the present system will consistently compensate each other instead of aggravating each other. The present system has three times defeated a candidate who had a majority of the popular vote, in addition to electing minority candidates over split opposition in a number of instances, the election being thrown into the House of Representatives in one case.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, one of the co-sponsors of the measure, answered a series of articles by Walter Lippmann and Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., opposing the proposal by a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune* on March 23, in which he pointed out that the proposal was not, strictly speaking, "proportional representation," because, although it divided the electoral vote of a state in proportion to popular vote, it related to the election of a single executive and not to a representative assembly or council. Senator Lodge also compared his proposal to a rival one advanced by Representative Frederic Coudert, Jr., of New York, which would have retained the electoral college while requiring that electors should be chosen by congressional districts. In this connection he wrote:

"I say candidly that the Coudert proposal is better than the system which we now have because it would count the electoral vote more nearly in proportion to the popular vote. It is a pity that Mr. Lippmann and Mr. Wilmerding were not equally candid in recognizing the defects of the Coudert proposal which are that most congressional districts are very seriously gerrymandered so that they do not constitute a representative slice of American life and that the Coudert proposal retains the unpledged elector who is one of the evils of the present system."[2]

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[2]The presidential elector is regularly pledged to support a certain candidate for president, of course, but he is legally free to disregard his pledge.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Korean War Portends Local Fiscal Problems

Civilian Defense May Mean Large Municipal Expenditure

WITH the Korean fighting in its third month, state and local governments share the uncertainties facing individuals, businesses and the federal government as to the fiscal impact of the war during the next year or so. Obviously the degree of unsettlement depends considerably on the duration of hostilities and the extent to which they spread to other sections of the globe. Whether the military action remains localized or attains "all out" proportions, however, it is becoming apparent that in some particulars local fiscal developments will parallel World War II situations and in some go beyond anything heretofore experienced.

Even a limited effort such as that presently under way promises to place state and local governments under strain as to such items as manpower, materials and a renewal of price advances. In those sections where sales and payroll taxes have become fixtures of the local revenue systems, and unemployment was early in 1950 of proportions to cause concern, renewal of war production promises to give a welcome spurt to revenue receipts. Transit system income in industrial communities may also get a much needed reversal. And the cost of local borrowing, temporarily adversely affected shortly after the outbreak of the war, is likely to hold at low levels because of the shortage of state and municipal bond issues and keener competition because of prospectively higher federal income tax rates, from which municipals are still exempt.

A new factor in local costs may arise from civilian defense requirements, relatively modest in World War II. The atom bomb is an unknown quantity on more than one front, and it is becoming increasingly clear that 1950 civilian defense thinking in all the larger metropolitan areas is concentrating on this weapon to an extent not duplicated by any contingencies foreseen in World War II.

A New York City administrative committee advised Mayor O'Dwyer that the most feasible solution for the community consisted of a number of bomb shelters under the city's parks—at an estimated cost of $450,000,000! The scheme has been viewed in some quarters with skepticism because of the obvious construction difficulties and time required—Manhattan's great Central Park is mainly underlaid by bed rock and some comment has held five years none too short a period for construction of underground shelters there.

This illustrates, however, the fact that "progress" in military weapons has now reached a point where local defense problems and costs promise to outstrip anything dreamed of five years ago. In the last war most of the civilian defense program was locally financed and to date federal interest in the subject has extended only to arousing interest in local programs, with no commitments announced for aid in meeting the costs.

St. Louis Payroll Tax Expires

July 17 saw the expiration of the one-half of one per cent municipal gross income tax of St. Louis, Missouri, the governor having steadfastly held to his refusal to call a special session of the legislature to renew the levy. City officials are reported to have

gone to work immediately to provide offsets to an estimated revenue loss of about $4,500,000 expected for the remainder of the current fiscal year, which ends April 30, 1951.

Amendments to the city's budget made at the recommendation of the Mayor's Committee on City Finances, according to the American Municipal Association's *News*, included: a slash of $600,000 in operating appropriations, an addition of $400,000 to estimated property taxes resulting from new construction and equalization additions, a shift of $775,000 of excise tax receipts from debt retirement to the general fund, and use of $750,000 of gas tax income for operating expense instead of debt service. For the remainder of the funds needed the city counts on a renewal of the income tax after its hoped for reenactment in January when the legislature meets in regular session. City officials are quoted as stating they expect no impairment of city credit to result from the temporary diversion of funds originally slated for debt retirement.

The city's authority to impose the local income tax was originally granted by the legislature in 1948 for a two-year period. It was not renewed by the legislature, however, and with a special session refused the city now expects to press for reenactment when the new legislature meets in 1951.

Sales Taxes Spread in Mississippi

Municipal sales taxes, which in the postwar years have become a prevalent fixture of city revenue systems on the west coast, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, were authorized for first-class Mississippi cities by the 1950 legislature. Four cities have already adopted the levies and a fifth has a referendum scheduled.

The enabling legislation authorizes a one-half of one per cent tax, to be collected by the state and remitted to the city after deduction of a 5 per cent collection fee. To become effective, the tax must be approved by three-fifths of the qualified voters at a local referendum.

Cities adopting the tax, and the estimated annual yields, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, are: Biloxi, $125,000; Gulfport, $125,000; Hattiesburg, $160,000; and Jackson, $750,000. Laurel is the city where a referendum has been scheduled. In these cities the sales tax rate will now be 2.5 per cent, representing the regular 2 per cent state sales tax plus the local levy of one-half of one per cent. First class cities are those with populations of over 13,500, of which there are twelve.

Another recent adoption of a city sales tax was in Bristol, Virginia, which adopted a 2 per cent local sales levy similar to the Tennessee state sales tax in effect in neighboring Bristol, Tennessee. Revenue will be used for debt retirement and capital improvements.

Albert Lea Stages Bond Burning

Past and present officials of Albert Lea, Minnesota, joined in a ceremonious burning of the last $18,000 of the city's general improvement bonds at a luncheon June 23, which also celebrated adherence to a fiscal program informally adopted in January 1929, following inauguration of the council-manager form of government.

The program was staged by City Manager Warren C. Hyde and among those present was Dr. William Anderson, a member of the Council of the National Municipal League, chairman-emeritus of the political science department of the University of Minnesota and a consultant in the drafting of the original Albert Lea city manager charter.

The program began with a reenactment, with most of the then city officials present and filling their former roles, of a January 1929 council meeting in which was surveyed a critical financial condition inherited from the previous administration. The situation was cleared up with a $160,000 refunding bond issue, dated January 1931 and due serially in twenty years. Later episodes showed successive councils holding to the date of final maturity of the refunding issue, 1951, as the date for final maturity of a succession of bond issues sold during the 1930s and through 1941.

The 1929 council had found a general purpose bonded debt of $596,664 as well as smaller amounts of water bonds and special assessment obligations. In later years an additional $383,500 of bonds were issued. The last of the water bonds was paid off at maturity in 1948 and, with the final $18,000 of general purpose debt due January 1, 1951, the council earlier this year authorized the purchase for cancellation of the obligations if they could be secured from the holders. The owners proved agreeable, and it was the 1951 and final maturity of the general purpose bonds which was formally destroyed at the luncheon meeting.

Retirement of the last of the former general purpose bonds does not make the city technically debt free, City Manager Hyde has noted. The prospect is that additional general purpose bonds must be issued within the next few years for a new sewage treatment plant. However, the only bonds remaining outstanding are $101,000 special assessment obligations not supported from property taxes. The 1950 budget includes modest appropriations for public works as a start on a pay-as-you-go program to meet some capital improvement costs from current revenues.

California Initiative Would Repeal Personalty Tax

A proposed constitutional amendment placed on the November 1950 ballot by initiative would prohibit the taxation of personal property, tangible or intangible, by California or any political subdivision, except by estate, inheritance, income or excise taxes of the state or federal governments. In effect, the proposal would abolish the ad valorem property tax on personalty.

In a brief in opposition to the measure, the State and Local Government Committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce notes that personal property taxes for 1949-50 amounted to approximately $145,000,000 statewide and more than $65,000,000 in Los Angeles County alone. It comments that these are sums whose removal from the local revenue system would necessitate substantial additions from other tax sources if expenditures, still increasing under the impetus of the area's extraordinary growth, are not to be dangerously curtailed.

Virtually all personal property presently taxed by California local units (no property taxes are levied by the state) is tangible personalty. The only intangibles in the tax base are so-called solvent credits. Taxation of such intangibles as notes, stocks, bonds, deeds of trust and mortgages was dropped when the state personal income tax was adopted in 1935. Solvent credits are not strictly a part of the general property tax base, moreover, being subject not to the local ad valorem tax rate but to a small uniform rate throughout the state (one-tenth of one per cent) which is shared by cities, schools and counties.

The San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, commenting on the proposed constitutional provision, notes that in addition to the direct loss of personal property taxes, the measure would probably place in jeopardy

the "in lieu" tax on motor vehicles, adopted by the state to offset removal of automobiles from the personal property tax rolls. The in lieu tax now returns about $44,000,000, distributed half to the cities and half to the counties.

Louisville Award Split, Achievement Awards Also Made

The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, holding its annual conference at Montreal early in June, announced that competition for the 1949 Louisville Award was so keen that the decision was made to award two medals. A gold medal went to Robert E. Sanderson, city comptroller of Lansing, Michigan, for an outstanding contribution to the advancement of debt administration resulting in a substantial saving to his city. A silver medal went to Thor W. Bruce, auditor of the St. Louis, Missouri, Board of Education, for his contribution to the advancement of school accounting and auditing.

The achievement award in the United States was won by Montgomery County, Maryland, for outstanding improvement in fiscal management, organization and public and financial reporting. The achievement award in Canada went to New Westminster, British Columbia, for improvement in fiscal management, accounting and budgetary procedures.

New Jersey Creates Investment Division

Prompted by an investigation of alleged "irregularities" in the purchase of bonds by various state officials for investment of state funds, the 1950 New Jersey legislature passed, and Governor Alfred E. Driscoll early in July signed, a bill designed to centralize all state investment activities in a new division.

The new division, to be within the State Treasury Department, will be headed by a financial expert with power over the investments of eighteen state trust funds. A nine-member advisory council will formulate investment policy. Formerly, boards of trustees of the separate trust funds purchased and sold fund investments, and it was brought out by an investigating committee that there were instances of bonds bought from favored brokers at prices much above the market for the securities involved.

The new advisory council will comprise five members appointed by the governor and four chosen by the state's four largest trust funds. The council will provide a list of nominees for the job of investment expert, from which the administrative official will be appointed by the state treasurer.

Research Commission Urged for Saskatchewan

A report to the Saskatchewan (Canada) minister of municipal affairs in July recommends appointment of a three-member municipal advisory commission the duty of which would be to conduct research in municipal matters, including taxation, and which would have complete jurisdiction over municipal grants.

The report was prepared by Professor G. E. Britnell and Dean F. C. Cronkite of the University of Saskatchewan and Louis Jacobs of the Department of Municipal Affairs, and represents a comprehensive survey of the entire municipal structure in the province of Saskatchewan and of its relationship to the provincial government.

Other recommendations included means of increasing municipal revenues.

H.M.O.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Michigan Citizens Aid State Reorganization

Group to Review Findings of Legislative Committee

MICHIGAN citizens have a state government consisting of 114 overlapping departments, boards and commissions and a feeling that something should be done about it. They've had this feeling for a long time.

The state constitution dates from 1908, long before the automobile made Michigan one of the country's industrial centers. The constitution has been amended 46 times and innumerable state services have been added through statutes, but there have been few basic changes in the structure of Michigan's government. More often than not the state has eased its growing pains simply by creating new commissions. It is as though every time a person got a headache, he added a new head.

Now, at last, something is about to be done—and citizens themselves will have a great deal to say about what is accomplished.

A committee of the state legislature, with the hard-to-remember name of the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, has taken its cue from the federal government's Hoover Commission and successful reorganization efforts in other states and has launched one of the most extensive study programs in Michigan's history to discover, first, what is wrong with the present setup and, second, what can be done to improve it.

Other attempts have been made in the past to strengthen the state's organization, the most recent of which was the 1948 consolidation of budgeting, purchasing, accounting and certain other housekeeping functions into a Department of Administration.[1] In addition, tax collection has been largely centralized in a Department of Revenue and a civil service system has been established.

But past attempts to look at the whole picture of state government from an organizational standpoint have met with something less than a round of applause and general acceptance. All have failed in the legislature. Recommendations were made, reported, studied and forgotten.

One of the chief reasons why past plans occupy dusty pigeon holes is that they lacked citizen acceptance and understanding. Tampering with the *status quo* always steps on somebody's toes—and the resultant squawk heretofore always has been louder than public clamor for the recommended changes. Legislators cannot be blamed for failing to act.

This time every effort is being made to assure a solid basis for citizen backing of whatever recommendations result. Chief instrument and hope will be a group of 45 Michigan citizens known as the Citizens Advisory Committee. Fifteen members were selected by the governor and fifteen each by House and Senate members of the joint legislative committee conducting the study. Included in the membership are merchants, educators, labor representatives, two former governors, newspaper men, judges and representatives of women's groups—persons with divergent interests in private life but with a common interest in good government.

[1]See "Governor Sigler Wins Again," by Loren B. Miller, the REVIEW, July 1948, page 357.

Citizens committee members will be much more than window dressing whose names will look good on a letterhead. They are expected to contribute actively to the thinking of the legislative committee members and help them to determine what should be done with Michigan's governmental hodge-podge to make it more representative of citizen wishes.

Karl Detzer, roving editor of the *Reader's Digest* and a member of the Council of the National Municipal League, confided that he had come to the committee's first meeting intending to submit his resignation because of his many other activities. But, after hearing the purposes of reorganization and the importance of the citizens committee, not only did he not resign but he accepted the chairmanship!

Most of the members attended the first organizational meeting and, of course, the first thing they wanted to know was how they fitted into the picture. What they were told went something like this:

The legislative committee has a large research staff, directed by Loren B. Miller, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and is bringing in the best experts it can find to conduct studies of 27 areas of state governmental activity. These specialists will submit project reports, similar to the Hoover Commission task force reports, containing their findings and recommendations.

Then, according to the plan, the citizens committee will review these findings from a citizens' point of view and evaluate the recommendations. This is expected to be of immeasurable help to legislative committee members who have the final responsibility for determining what recommendations ultimately will be made to the full legislature. At the same time, the citizens committee will become thoroughly familiar with the proposals and well prepared to serve as a basic agency for stimulating discussion and understanding of the purposes of reorganization by the people.

Later on it is hoped that the citizens committee will form a nucleus for a large citizens group for educational efforts which will be necessary for adoption of recommendations of the study.

Thus, the citizens committee will be "on the inside" from the beginning. This is far different from the old approach of handing a group of citizens a ready-made package, telling them that it is utopia in a red ribbon and suggesting that they do something about convincing other citizens and their representatives in the legislature by day after tomorrow.

As Chairman Detzer says, "The citizens committee function is to help interpret for the legislative committee what the people of Michigan are thinking and to report to the people what the legislative committee is doing."

Michigan hopes that it works.

Richard A. Ware, *General Assistant*
Mich. Joint Legislative Committee on
Reorganization of State Government

Program for Citizenship Education Gets under Way

On an experimental basis for the past six months, the Citizenship Education Project is now ready to carry its program into all parts of the country. The project has been conducted until now in eight cities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut by Columbia University's Teachers College, under a grant of $450,000 from the Carnegie Corporation.

On August 2 secondary school superintendents, principals and social studies teachers from school systems of 62 communities over the country met at Columbia for a week's briefing on the results of the research previously con-

ducted. They will plan their own citizenship programs for use when classes convene in September. Those in attendance heard encouraging reports from the leaders working in the eight experimental cities and were given an opportunity to inspect a large amount of historical and current materials.

More than a thousand films, books, pamphlets, articles and news clippings have been catalogued for the use of the educators. Objective tests have been furnished so that experimenters may note the progress made in their communities. Pamphlets outline projects which have proved susceptible of use, ranging from classroom election procedures to extensive field work. Twenty-six such projects were submitted to the educators with 30 more nearing completion.

Some $125,000 of the grant has been expended thus far; $21,400 has been given to the University of Nebraska's Teachers College for development of a citizenship training program for rural areas.

Civic Education Elsewhere

Eighth grade students at the Bancroft School in Omaha, where the council-manager plan will be voted on November 7, attended a Parent-Teacher Association meeting at which the council-manager plan was discussed. The pupils have been studying the plan in their classrooms.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) presented certificates to 109 high school seniors who placed high on its "exceptionally able youth test" held last spring. Also honored were Fred E. Schuchmann, president of the club from 1946 to 1949, and Dr. Anthony M. Goldberger, associate chairman of the Exceptionally Able Youths Committee. Both received certificates of appreciation for faithful and efficient service.

"America's New Four Hundred," by Jairus J. Deisenroth, reprinted from the January 1950 *Bulletin* of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, describes two national conferences of the Association of Student Councils.

"The tenth annual Tar Heel Boys' State brought 281 rising seniors to Chapel Hill from high schools all over North Carolina for a week's intensive training in city, county, state and federal government," according to *Popular Government*, published by the North Carolina Institute of Government. The Tar Heel Boys' State is conducted each year by the institute under the sponsorship of the North Carolina Department of the American Legion. Delegates are selected for their outstanding qualities and are sponsored and sent to the conference by local Legion posts and other civic groups.

Civics for the Adult

A hundred persons attended the graduation exercises of Toledo's first Civic College for adults,[1] held after nine weeks of "intensive study of local government," according to the *Toledo City Journal*. Diplomas were awarded to 62 students at the dinner held in the First Unitarian Church. In all, 144 had enrolled for the classes.

The University Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin has two more kits for use in its Citizen Seminars, a program series prepared "for schools, groups and individuals who wish to understand the significance of events in the modern world." They are "Forms of City Government" and "Town Government Today." Both contain a discussion guide as well as mimeographed and printed material on the subject. The kits are designed to help teachers, chairmen and others plan programs "that will lead to a systematic and meaningful consideration of current public problems."

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[1]See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 259.

Another Civic Victory

Once again the Citizens Association of Richmond, Virginia, has "rung the bell." In 1947 it led a successful campaign to secure a council-manager charter for the city. In 1948 its candidates won eight of the nine seats on the council which would appoint a city manager and place the new charter in operation. Now, in 1950, the association has again elected eight of its candidates to the council, thus insuring continuance of good government under the council-manager charter.

* * *

Committees at Work

Twelve committees, dealing with various phases of municipal affairs, have been set up by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. The result of an experiment begun two years ago, when certain special committees were tried out, the committees will deal with airport development, annexation, civil service, highways, housing, municipal finance, parks and recreation, proportional representation, public welfare, sewage disposal, traffic control and urban redevelopment. The three former committees which proved so successful made studies of restaurant sanitation, traffic engineering and proposed charter changes. According to Forest Frank, executive director of the Charter Committee, the "first succeeded in getting the restaurant regulation section of the health code rewritten to meet—even in some respects to surpass—the U. S. Public Health Office's Code on Restaurant Sanitation. The second produced recommendations for improvements in traffic controls, many of which have already been carried out, with the remainder now being worked on. The third proposed amendments, several of which were submitted to the voters and adopted last fall."

Plans are under way to form a new Noise Abatement Committee of the Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Civic Club. Members interested are asked to communicate with the club's officials. According to the club's bulletin, "the Civic Club first began a noise abatement program in 1915 and was active for more than twenty years in helping to obtain city ordinances against excessive noise." The committee was disbanded during the war years.

Prepared by its Committee on City Affairs, Mrs. Nathaniel Singer, chairman, the Citizens Union of New York City has issued its second mimeographed report on magistrates' courts. It covers such special courts as probation, night, vehicle and accident, gamblers, felony and territorial courts. The committee's first report, issued in March 1949, dealt mainly with the home term, girls term, women's court and adolescent court.

In his review of club activities of the year, President John Visser of the Milwaukee City Club comments that "the responsibility for the civic work of the club rests with the civic committees," which cover city planning, county affairs, public education, public finance and a civic council composed of the chairmen of the committees. Work of the committees is reported on at length.

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Strictly Personal

Glen B. Eastburn, formerly manager of the Aviation Department of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed executive secretary of the Property Owners Association of California.

Allen Baxter of Philadelphia has been given the 1950 planning award of that city's Citizens' Council on City Planning for his outstanding contribution "toward the improvement of a vital neighborhood in our city and thereby to better living in Philadelphia."

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Give Aid to Charter Commissions

Philadelphia and St. Louis Produce Background Studies

PREPARATORY research reports for constitutional conventions and commissions have long been important sources of practical up-to-date studies on problems of state government. Although there are many more municipal charter commissions than constitutional conventions, few of them have similarly added to the available manuals on city government. Important recent exceptions are the St. Louis Board of Freeholders that submitted a new charter which was rejected by the voters on August 1, 1950,[1] and the Philadelphia Charter Commission which still has to put its work to the test of a popular referendum.

The St. Louis board used as its staff agency the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis. Mimeographed reports on the following departments have been received from the institute: Finance, water, parks and recreation, fire, health and welfare, regulatory inspection, public works.

Other St. Louis reports cover *Civil Service Provisions in Large American Cities, Certain Aspects of the Financial Administration of Municipal Utilities, Charter Provisions Relating to Districts for Election of City Legislative Bodies in Home Rule Cities Over 250,000 Population, Charter Provisions Relating to the City Legislature's Control Over Ordinances for Public Works, Control of Expenditures and the Accounting of Funds, Basic Financial Organization in Municipal Governments, Independent Post-Audit in Municipal Government, Questions and Answers on the Form of Municipal Government, Factual Data Relating to the Forms of City Government in the United States.*

The major provisions of the proposed St. Louis charter were summarized and commented on in the May 17 and 24 issues of the St. Louis Bureau's *Dollars and Sense in Government.* The Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia also devoted the June 20 issue of its *Citizen's Business* to "St. Louis—1950 Model."

Memoranda on the following subjects have been prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research for the Philadelphia Charter Commission: *Organizational Structure of Seven Large Cities in the United States, Salaries of Public Officials in Thirteen Large Cities, Methods of Securing Minority Representation in City Council Other Than by Proportional Representation, Pros and Cons of the Council-Manager Form of Government, Need for a Public Records Provision in Philadelphia's Home Rule Charter, Four Alternative Plans for Departmental Groupings of Functions in Philadelphia's City Government.*

Lennox L. Moak, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, and Victor Brannon, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, regret they are unable to give or sell copies of any of these reports. They do have, however, enough copies to lend for moderate periods to qualified persons who have important use for them. These reports should be valuable starting points for persons undertaking background research for other charter commissions during the next few years.

[1]See also pages 376 and 403, this issue.

Bureau Notes

The Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research "cut its birthday cake," resplendent with 25 candles, at a party on June 28, according to an editorial in the *Cincinnati Post*. This occasion marked the 25th anniversary of the bureau and the twentieth anniversary of Calvin Skinner as director of the bureau. The anniversary dinner program records and pays appropriate tribute to the accomplishments of those twenty years. The following greeting, addressed to Calvin Skinner from the National Municipal League, was one of many: "Heartiest congratulations on the many years of valuable service you and the bureau have given Cincinnati and Hamilton County."

Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey, has established a Bureau of Government Research. Dr. Bennett M. Rich, associate professor of political science at the university, will become the bureau's first director.

The University of Tennessee Bureau of Public Administration, with the cooperation of the Division of University Extension, is continuing its training activities in the field of public administration. During the period 1949-50 a second series of fifteen regional one-day conferences were held throughout Tennessee for municipal finance officials. A current project is a series of three statewide regional meetings organized to train board members and trustees of Tennessee's rural electric cooperatives. Sponsored by the Tennessee Electric Cooperative Association, in cooperation with the Rural Electrification Administration, the Tennessee Valley and the University of Tennessee, these meetings are not only the first of their kind in Tennessee but also in the nation.

Early this year the Maryland State Planning Commission undertook its Third Inventory of State Research Activities by mailing questionnaires to 112 state agencies who were requested to report current research projects being conducted on behalf of the state and/or its political subdivisions. The results of the 1948 and 1949 inventories were published in the *Compendium of State Research Activities* issued in May 1948 and 1949.

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Research Reports

A number of research groups have issued annual reports, as follows:

Twenty-ninth Annual Report, Duluth, Minnesota, Governmental Research Bureau, June 1950. 3 pp.

Tenth Annual Report 1949-1950. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1950. 8 pp.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, April 1950. 5 pp.

Thirtieth Annual Report and Year Book. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, 1950. 31 pp.

Thirty-sixth Annual Report. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. 16 pp.

1950 Annual Report of Executive Secretary. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, June 1950. 4 pp.

Seventeenth Annual Report. New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, June 1950. 4 pp.

Annual Report. Canton, Stark County Tax League, July 1950. 42 pp.

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Strictly Personal

Paul A. Volcker, recently retired manager of Teaneck, New Jersey, will join the faculty of Stevens Institute of Technology in September as associate professor of municipal management in the Graduate School. In addition to teaching municipal administration and engineering, Mr. Volcker will be responsible for setting up a municipal consultant service and reference bureau to serve as a clearing house for municipalities in New Jersey.

Dr. John C. Bollens will join the

political science faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles in September. Dr. Bollens will leave the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, to take up his new duties.

Additional Reports and Articles

Administrative Reorganization

Progress Report on Executive Reorganization. Status of Legislation, Reorganization Plans, and Administrative Action, Based on the Recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government During the Eighty-First Congress to Date. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 105 pp.

Budget

Counties Budget $83 Million for Roads. 52 Per Cent from "Highway User" Taxes. By J. Roy Holland. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, July 1950. 6 pp. Tables. 25 cents.

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A Handbook for County Supervisors. By Dean Zenor. Iowa City, Institute of Public Affairs, State University of Iowa, 1950. 96 pp.

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Check Your City's Insurance Practices. By Victor C. Hobday. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* June 1950. 5 pp.

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When Should Schenectady Operate Car Parking Lots? Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* June 28, 1950. 8 pp.

Where Shall We Park Our Cars? Public—or Private—Garages and Parking Lots? Report of the Section on City Planning by David D. Bohannon. In Support of the Section's Report, by Vining T. Fisher. In Opposition to the Section's Report, by Marston Campbell, Jr. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth,* July 1950. 23 pp. 25 cents.

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Bid Data on Current Municipal Public Works. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, June 1950, 14 pp.

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Real Estate Tax Sales in 1949. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1950. 4 pp. Tables.

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Uniform Traffic Violation Ticket and Uniform Traffic and Parking Fine Schedule. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* June 20, 1950. 10 pp.

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Unemployment Compensation in Utah 1949-1950. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 3 pp.

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Courts Prefer Sewer Rents Based on Water Use. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* May 1950. 3 pp.

Metered Water and Sewer Charges in Fourteen Large Cities of the United States. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. 9 pp. Tables. $1.

Books in Review

The Units of Government in the United States. By William Anderson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. vi, 50 pp. $1.

First published in 1934, last previous edition 1942. This publication counts the 165,049 units of government of which 118,308 are school districts, draws some useful conclusions and finds some trends. It exhibits the high per capita costs of small units and the nonsense of the belief that there is virtue in such smallness. It attacks the separation of schools in separate tax levying corporations and figures out that one-ninth as many local governments could do the job and do it better.

R. S. C.

State and Local Government. By Claudius O. Johnson. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950. ix, 289 pp. $2.50.

This swift, terse and compact review of the structure and defects of state government constitutes a handy, up-to-date manual of reform in this field. The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League is utilized as the yardstick and its full text is provided in the appendix. The 1947 simplification of the court system of New Jersey is covered and so is the 1945 administrative reorganization of Missouri. A sound critique and a good starting point for any studious member or observer of a state constitutional convention!

American State Government and Administration (fourth edition). By Austin F. Macdonald. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1950. xiii, 722 pp. $4.

Being the fourth edition and the 23rd printing since 1934, this competent volume needs no appraisal here. Its chapter on state reorganization is unusually complete and a new chapter deals with proposals and progress in judicial reform. The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League is provided in full in the appendix.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Agriculture

A Framework for a Long-Range Agricultural Policy. By Oscar Heline and Donald R. Kaldor. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1950. viii, 68 pp. 50 cents.

Atomic Energy

The Development of a Policy for Industrial Peace in Atomic Energy. By Donald B. Straus. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1950. viii, 104 pp. $1.

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The Problem of Blight Elimination in Milwaukee. Milwaukee, Board of Public Land Commissioners, 1950. 20 pp.

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Organization of the Government of Montgomery County, Maryland. Rockville, Maryland, County Manager's Office, 1950. 56 pp.

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Civil Defense in Your Community. Information for chambers of commerce as an aid to participation in civil defense planning in the community. By Committee on National Defense. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1950. 17 pp. 20 cents.

Directories

Twenty-third Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials 1950-1951. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 68 pp. $3.

United States Government Organization Manual 1950-1951. Washington

5, D. C. General Services and Administration, National Archives and ecords Service, Federal Register ivision, 1950. 657 pp. $1.

Economics

"Economics" as Applied to Government Fiscal Policy and Debt Management. By H. Christian Sonne. New ork 13, Sanders Printing Corporation, 950. 29 pp.

The Manufacturing Economy of the etroit Region. Part II. Composition nd Analysis. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit, Regional Planning Commission, 950. 49 pp.

Government Publications

Manual of Government Publications nited States and Foreign. By Everett Brown. New York 1, Appleton-entury-Crofts, Inc., 1950. ix, 121 pp. .

Housing

Planning the Home for Occupancy. y the American Public Health Assoation Committee on the Hygiene of ousing. Chicago, Public Administation Service, 1950. xiv, 56 pp. $2.50.

Intermunicipal Cooperation

North American Reports. Presented the Third Meeting of the Interamerican Congress of Municipalities eld at New Orleans, Louisiana, May 5, 1950. Relations Between Municialities and Central Governments, reorted by Rowland Egger; Housing nd the Municipalities, reported by erbert Emmerich; City Planning—s Present Status in the United States America, reported by Walter H. lucher; Traffic Problems in Cities—uggestions for Their Solution, reorted by J. Stannard Baker. Chicago 7, Public Administration Clearing ouse, 1950. Variously paged.

Proceedings of the Conference in eneva, September 12-17, 1949. The ague, International Union of Local uthorities, 1950. 120 pp.

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Inventory Procedure. Detailed Instructions for the Control of Municipal Personal Property Through the Use of a Perpetual Inventory. Long Beach, California, Property Control Officer, 1950. 34 pp.

Land Use

Land Use in Philadelphia Metropolitan District 1944. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 66 pp. Charts, maps.

Lobbying

Administration of the Lobby Registration Provision of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. An Analysis of the Experience During the Eightieth Congress. By W. Brooke Graves. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 63 pp.

The Role of Lobbying in Representative Self-Government. Part I of Hearings before the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, March 27, 28 and 30, 1950. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 167 pp.

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A Work Measurement System—Development and Use. A Case Study. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, 1950. 44 pp.

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Optional Municipal Charter Laws. (Laws of 1950, Chapter 210, Optional Municipal Chapter Law; Chapter 211,

Optional Municipal Key Positions Law.) Trenton, New Jersey, the Legislature, 1950. 72 pp.

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State-City Relationships in Highway Affairs. By Norman Hebden and Wilbur S. Smith. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950. xvi, 230 pp. $4.

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The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. Its Story After Twenty-five Years. Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University, 1949. 136 pp. Illus.

Wages

How to Raise Real Wages. By The Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 43 pp.